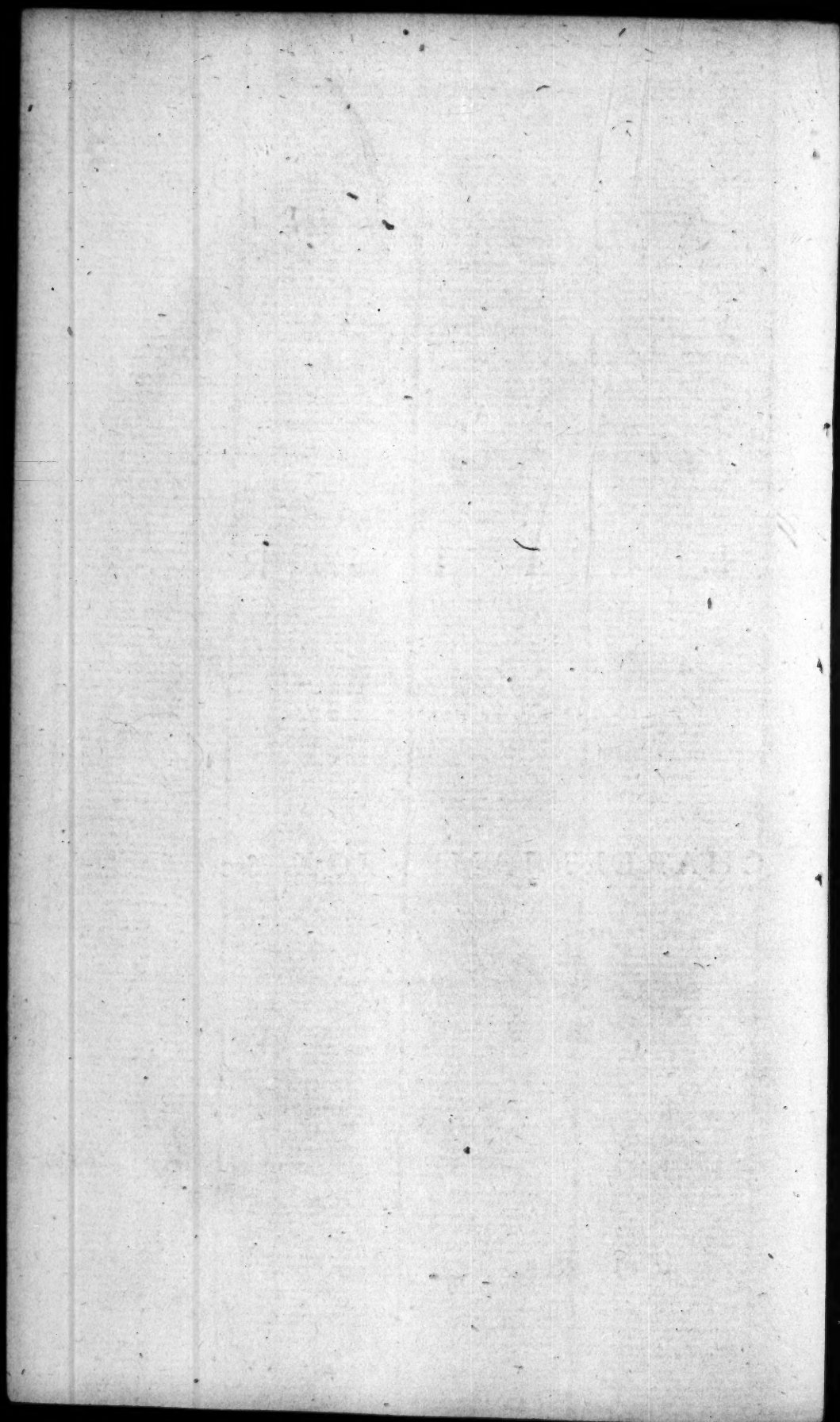


A

L E T T E R

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

CHARLES JAMES FOX, &c.



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A
L E T T E R
TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
CHARLES JAMES FOX,
ON THE
EXTRANEOUS MATTER,

CONTAINED IN
MR. BURKE'S SPEECHES, in WESTMINSTER-HALL,

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
MR. BURKE'S LETTER

TO
MR. MONTAGUE,
WITH
OBSERVATIONS.

BY MAJOR JOHN SCOTT.

SECOND EDITION.

L O N D O N:
PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, OPPOSITE BUR-
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MDCCCLXXXIX.

[Price Three Shillings.]

LETTER

TO THE HONORABLE

CHARLES JAMES FOX

OF THE

EXTRINSECUS MATTER

CONTAINED IN

MR. FOX'S SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT

AND IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

MR. FOX'S LETTER

TO

MR. MONTAGUE

WITH

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF KING JOHN

SECOND EDITION

LONDON

PRINTED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD

IN THE STRAND

1794

[The above is a list of the

P R E F A C E.

THE following letter was written last Autumn at Margate, after a very accurate and attentive examination of all the documents, which elucidate the subjects of it. I have corrected some of the expressions in three of the sheets, but the arguments remain unaltered.

The report of General Burgoyne's Committee, as it was called, contains an imper-

P R E F A C E.

fect copy of the papers on the business of the three seals. The documents withheld, tend to prove more strongly, had further proof been necessary, that Mr. Hastings was not present, during any part of the evening, on which the transaction happened.

I mean not in the slightest degree to insinuate, that the suppression of the first part of the evidence upon this affair, can be attributed to any other motive than mere inattention.

In the business of Deby Sing, the *true point* lies in a very narrow compass indeed. The proceedings have swelled to six volumes in folio, three of which Mr. Burke had before him when he spoke, and he argued critically and ingeniously upon the papers contained

P R E F A C E.

tained in them. All that is incumbent upon me to prove is, 1st, That whether the accusations brought against Deby Sing, were true or false, whether his crimes were more or less enormous, Mr. Burke, at the time he spoke, knew that it would be absolutely impossible to make Mr. Hastings a participator in them.

2dly, That from Mr. Burke's mode of stating the dreadful cruelties committed, no person living could have a doubt of the facts, but that it has since been proved, after a most solemn and full enquiry made upon oath, by Gentlemen appointed to investigate the business, by Sir John Macpherson, Mr. Stables, and Mr. Wheler, that the most dreadful of the cruelties stated by Mr. Burke, never were committed at all.

Whe-

P R E F A C E.

Whether I have succeeded in proving these propositions, the judgment of the public must determine.

JOHN SCOTT.

30th April, 1789.

A

LETTER, &c.

SIR,

TO whom can I, with so much propriety, address any remarks upon such parts of the proceedings in Westminster Hall as have militated against your own doctrines, as to yourself? It shall be my study, in the following pages, to avoid the discussion of any one point that has engaged the attention of the House of Commons; but there
are

are certain subjects which have no reference to any one article of impeachment, and I hope I may be pardoned for offering a few remarks upon them.

Perhaps it had been more regular if no discussion, upon a depending cause, had taken place beyond the walls of that great tribunal which must determine it; but as many editions of the speeches of the managers have been printed, and as much *ex parte* matter has appeared in all the periodical publications in England, I shall hazard a few observations upon points totally foreign to the charges themselves.

If any part of Mr. Burke's opening had a reference to the articles, I should not presume to animadvert upon it, at the present moment, for I bow with reverence to the high authority they bear; but I conceive that

that I have an undoubted right to remark upon two passages, which cannot be included under any possible construction that you can put, upon any one article. I mean the stories of the three seals, and Deby Sing. I affirm that Mr. Burke, in detailing these stories, was guilty of cool, systematic, and premeditated misrepresentation.

As Mr. Burke opened this business, he made himself perfectly intelligible in every part of it. The scheme for assassinating the Shazada, and for dispatching Meeran, the eldest son of Meer Jaffier, were both stated to be necessary to the depression of Jaffier, and the elevation of Cossim Ally Cawn : certain gentlemen, whose names Mr. Burke mentioned, were said to be parties to that scheme, and Mr. Hastings was described as one of the number.

You heard the whole tale of the three seals ; and I appeal to you whether the following is not a fair abstract of it. “ After
“ Lord Clive’s departure in 1760, another

“ set of men succeeded, who determined on
 “ another revolution. A young gentleman,
 “ Mr. Warren Hastings, then resident at the
 “ Durbar, or Court of Meer Jaffier. Ge-
 “ neral Caillaud, the Commander in Chief,
 “ averse to the revolution at that time, Mr.
 “ Vansittart, the new Governor, being
 “ hourly expected. Meer Jaffier, deluded
 “ by General Caillaud till Mr. Vansittart
 “ should arrive. The assassination of the
 “ Shazada proposed by the Nabob. Never
 “ knew the story until within this year.—
 “ Nothing determined in the morning—Re-
 “ sumed the consideration of it in the even-
 “ ing—when the persons present were Ge-
 “ neral Caillaud, Mr. Lushington, Captain
 “ Knox, and Warren Hastings, the Nabob,
 “ his son, and a Moonshy.—The proposition
 “ for the assassination made, and Mr. Hast-
 “ ings stated to have acted as interpreter—
 “ The scheme agreed to, and the treaty
 “ signed—Business, by some means, came to
 “ the knowledge of the Court of Directors,
 “ who

“ who ordered a strict enquiry into the fact
 “ —Came before the Council the 4th of
 “ October, 1762, consisting of Messieurs
 “ Amyat, M’Guire, Hastings, Hay, and
 “ Watts—Difficulty as to Mr. Hastings—
 “ Represented to have acted as interpreter—
 “ —Not fit to act as a Judge—Lushington
 “ had made his affidavit at Patna, that he
 “ had put Caillaud’s seal to the agreement,
 “ and that Warren Hastings was interpreter
 “ in that transaction—The question, was to
 “ get the interpreter out of the interpreta-
 “ tion, and to put him in the seat of justice
 “ —Effected in a curious manner.—It was
 “ this—Lushington was got completely over,
 “ persuaded to unsay his swearing, and to
 “ declare that he believed his affidavit, *while*
 “ *the transaction was recent, or nearly so,*
 “ must have been made by mistake; that he
 “ believes it was not Mr. Hastings, but
 “ himself, that interpreted. Mr. Hastings
 “ then put into the condition of a Judge,
 “ and decided not to have been the inter-
 “ preter

“ preter—Mr. Hastings is examined; and
 “ what is extraordinary, he does not recol-
 “ lect : he thinks he was not there. Thinks,
 “ if he was there as an interpreter, he could
 “ not forget it.—Here is the state of the
 “ transaction given by the parties them-
 “ selves; and Mr. Hastings, in his inaccu-
 “ rate memory, not venturing to say posi-
 “ tively he was not the interpreter, and not
 “ there, is discharged from being the accom-
 “ plice; removes from the bar, and sits upon
 “ the seat of justice!”

Thus have I faithfully abstracted, from the
 short-hand writer's copy, Mr. Burke's tale,
 in so far as Mr. Hastings is at all concerned
 in it. My own memory bears testimony to
 the accuracy of the copy; and from the very
 document which Mr. Burke had perused, it
 can be fully proved, that his account is a
 gross, and wilful mis-representation, from the
 first sentence to the last.

Mr. Hastings was appointed, by Lord
 Clive, the Resident at the Court of Meer
 Jaffier, in the year 1759, as well from his
 know-

knowledge of the Persian language, as from the general estimation in which his character was held by all the principal people in Moorsshedabad. In that situation he continued, until, by his rank in the service, he became a Member of the Administration. In the intermediate time, Meer Jaffier was deposed, and Cossim Ally Cawn elevated to the Musnud— But whether that revolution was a right measure, or a wrong one, Mr. Hastings, whose duty it was to obey orders, is no more accountable than Mr. John Robinson and Sir Grey Cooper are responsible, for the calamities which befel this country, during Lord North's Administration. He was neither a Member of the Council, nor of the secret Committee, nor is his name mentioned as having been present at any one of those meetings, at which the revolution was settled.

Mr. Burke, in another part of his speech, called Cossim Ally Cawn the bloody and ferocious tyrant, whom Mr. Hastings had set up, an assertion unfounded and malicious.

He

He had before stated, that money was paid to several persons on his accession, and he intended that his auditors should believe, that Mr. Hastings had received money amongst others : but when Lord North proposed that Mr. Hastings should be appointed the Governor General of Bengal, in the year 1773, he observed, that though various sums had been given to Lord Clive and other individuals, at the different revolutions in Bengal, not one rupee had been received by Mr. Hastings ; and his assertion is confirmed by the reports of your friend General Burgoyne.

In the month of April, 1760, the transaction of the three seals happened. In the latter end of the year 1761, the enquiry was ordered by the Court of Directors. On the 13th of May, 1762, the order had arrived in Bengal, and the Council of Calcutta, then strongly divided into parties, commenced the enquiry with every possible formality.

The first step taken by them was, to send a series of questions to Captain Knox, who
was

was at Midnapore, to Mr. Lushington who was at Patna, and to Mr. Amyatt, who was in Calcutta, to which they were severally to reply upon oath; and to write to Mr. Hastings to gain what information he could from the Nabob Cossim Ally Cawn, and from Lieutenant (now Col.) Ironside upon the subject. Captain Knox, in his reply, relates the whole transaction, and positively swears, "that when the proposal was made, " all attendants were ordered to retire, and " there remained only the old and young " Nabob, Col. Caillaud, Mr. Lushington and " himself." Mr. Lushington, in his reply upon oath from Patna, does not state what Mr. Burke imputes to him, nor any thing like it, but says, " Mr. Hastings was at the " time attending the old Nabob *in the field*, " but whether he was at the Durbar that " evening, *I cannot now recollect.*"

Mr. Hastings in his answer says, he will give the Gentlemen, at Patna, all the information he can collect, and that Mr. Iron-
side

side will do the same; but that the Nabob Cossim Ally Cawn, and his people, are utterly ignorant of the fact.

It appeared from the evidence of Mr. Lushington, Mr. Amyatt, and Captain Knox, that a paper of the purport mentioned by the Directors, was sealed; and the Governor and Council procured the original. This was the point which they were so particularly ordered to establish, but the ultimate judgment rested with the Directors. They next summoned Mr. Lushington, and Captain Knox, to Calcutta; and they wrote to Madras to require Colonel Caillaud's attendance, inclosing the orders they had received from England.

Mr. (afterwards Lord) Pigot, and his Counsel, reply to the Bengal letter, which included the Company's orders, as follows:

“ Col. Caillaud has been acquainted with
 “ the purport of them, and accordingly takes
 “ his passage in the Clinton. The long
 “ knowledge we have had of his character,
 “ and

“ and his generous, as well as humane manner of acting, even against his enemies, gives us the greatest hopes that he will be able, in the correctest and clearest manner, to justify his conduct, not only to the satisfaction of you Gentlemen on the spot, but also to the obtaining a greater confidence from his honourable employers.

“ Signed,

“ George Pigot,

“ Stringer Lawrence,

“ Robert Palk, and all

“ the Counsel.”

Lord Pigot, I hope, will be an unexceptionable evidence even with Mr. Burke.

All parties being assembled, and Mr. Hastings being returned from his embassy having taken his seat in Council, Col. Caillaud delivered in his defence on the 4th of Oct. 1762. The fact of sealing the paper was fully admitted by him; and to ascertain that fact was the main object of the enquiry: he then desired to examine Mr. Lushington and Captain Knox.

Mr. Lushington, previous to the commencement of the examination, informed the Board, “ that when his first deposition was

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“ taken,

“ taken, he had the strongest conviction in
 “ his own mind, that either Mr. Hastings,
 “ or Captain Knox, first interpreted between
 “ the Nabob and Col. Caillaud ; but is now
 “ fully convinced, from conversations with
 “ Captain Knox and Col. Caillaud, *that Mr.*
 “ *Hastings was not present.*”

Captain Knox positively and uniformly swore, that Mr. Lushington himself was the only interpreter, and *that Mr. Hastings was not there any part of the time.*

Mr. Hastings being then asked by Colonel Caillaud if he was present during that evening, answered, “ I was not to the best of my
 “ knowledge, and I think it could not have
 “ escaped my memory if I had been present
 “ at such a transaction.”

On the 11th of October 1762, the Governor and Council, men split into parties, unanimously gave an opinion in favour of Colonel Caillaud, which they transmitted, with all the materials on which it was founded, to the Directors. The Members were, Mr. Vansittart, the Governor ; Messrs. Amyatt, M'Guire, Hastings, Hay, and Watts. The Court of Directors, amongst whom were many respectable merchants of the city of
 1 London,

London, and many Members of Parliament, as unanimously, after the proceedings had been for several days open to their inspection, "and considered with the greatest attention," confirmed the judgment of the Governor and Council by a complete acquittal; and his Majesty was graciously pleased, at their recommendation, to confer upon Colonel Caillaud, the commission of a Brigadier General. As to Mr. Hastings, his name was never once mentioned, it appearing most evidently, that he was not, in any respect, a party to the transaction.

Never, I believe, Mr. Fox, was so gross a misrepresentation hazarded before in a public assembly, more particularly in a Court where truth only ought to be heard. Mr. Lushington is represented to have sworn, *when the transaction was fresh in his memory, or nearly so*, that Mr. Hastings interpreted. The transaction happened in April, 1760. It was never questioned until May, 1762, *above two years after*, and then, and not before, Mr. Lushington swore, that Mr. Hastings was with the Nabob in camp at the time, but whether he was present at the Durbar that evening, *he cannot recollect*.

In October, 1762, he said positively that Mr. Hastings *was not present*: and the evidence of Captain Knox, a man of unblemished honour, was uniform and decisive as to the point. Does Mr. Hastings swear in the loose and doubtful manner Mr. Burke insinuates?—Directly the reverse. He is asked, not as Mr. Burke says, if he *interpreted*, but if he was *present* during that evening. He replies, he was not to the best of his knowledge—and, as a confirmation that he was not present, he adds, “ I think it could not have “ escaped my memory, if I had been present “ at such a transaction.”

Mr. Burke could not connect the name of Mr. Hastings with this tale, or with the gross calumny which followed, from any document in General Burgoyne’s reports,—nor can I devise from what authority he could venture to affirm, “ that Meeran, lying “ asleep in his tent, suddenly, without any “ one knowing it, without any alarm or “ menace in the heavens ever being heard or “ mentioned, without any one whatsoever “ being hurt or alarmed in the camp, is killed “ with a flash of lightning.”

I have avoided as much as possible the introduction of any matter but what immediately

diately applies to Mr. Hastings.—First, the supposed plot to assassinate the Shazada, and next to dispatch Meeran, were stated as necessary to the “ Revolution in favour of “ Cossim Ally Cawn, that bloody and ferocious tyrant whom Mr. Hastings set up—“ houses (added Mr. Burke) are strong that “ have eldest sons grown up fit to command “ armies.”

What conclusion can be drawn from these expressions, with their context, but this, that while Meeran lived, that plan, to which Mr. Hastings was stated, in the commencement of Mr. Burke’s speech, to be a party, could not be carried into effect. Hard, indeed, is the situation of a public man, if he is to be thus subject to calumny, by the voice of authority. Twenty-eight years and upwards have elapsed since these events happened.—Fifteen years ago they were the subject of strict Parliamentary investigation, when with the documents fresh in the mind of every gentleman, the Minister of the country, and the Parliament of Great Britain, found nothing in the conduct of Mr. Hastings to blame, but so much to commend, that he was selected by the legislature at Lord North’s
recom-

recommendation, to fill the most important office it had to bestow.

Similar treatment he has since received:— every circumstance relative to Nundcomar— his informations, his trial, his execution, were all very fully known in England in 1776. —Proceedings were held upon them; but the strongest possible proof was given, that the information was thought untrue, because I will not so grossly libel Lord North, as to suppose that three several times subsequent to his knowledge of those transactions, he should have proposed to the legislature to appoint Mr. Hastings Governor General of Bengal, if he had the slightest doubt of his integrity, or had conceived the information of Nundcomar was of the least consequence. In the course of your political contention with his lordship, you never represented him in so unfavourable a light as he must appear in to those who give the least credit to the information of Nundcomar.

I now come to the second story, that of Deby Sing, which Mr. Burke related with such circumstances of horror, that it produced the most melancholy effects in Westminster Hall.

I pledge myself to prove to you, that in the
state-

statement which Mr. Burke gave of the business of Deby Sing, he was guilty of deliberate, systematic, and intentional misrepresentation throughout; and that he actually was in possession of those documents from which I will prove the assertion I make. I know the importance of the task I have voluntarily imposed upon myself; and that after such a declaration, if I fail in my proofs I shall justly be deemed a base calumniator, unworthy the name of a man, or the society of Gentlemen.

My first assertion is, that at the moment Mr. Burke accused Mr. Hastings as responsible for the cruelties supposed to have been committed by Deby Sing, he was in possession of complete evidence, and had perused it, which proved, that if all the accusations brought against Deby Sing had been true, Mr. Hastings could not possibly be accountable for them.

The next is, that Mr. Burke might have discovered, if he had taken the proper means, whether the accusations were true or false.

And the third assertion that I make is, that after a very serious and solemn investigation upon oath, made by gentlemen appointed not by Mr. Hastings, but by the supreme

preme Council in his absence, it has been proved, that the most dreadful of those cruelties which Mr. Burke stated, never were committed at all.

The only difficulty which I shall find, will be to bring the matter before you in a small compass; but I think I can state it so plainly that it must be understood.

In the month of February, 1781, Mr. Hastings changed the whole system which he had established in 1773 for collecting the revenues of Bengal, and adopted that which continues, with very trifling variation, to the present moment in Bengal, and was adopted, by Lord Macartney, at Madras, during the late war. Upon this alteration Mr. Burke has made many very ingenious remarks, and he has represented it as made, for the express purpose of throwing the whole power of Bengal into the hands of Mr. Hastings. The Gentlemen who were first appointed Members of the Committee of Revenue were, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Shore, Mr. Chartres, and Mr. Croftes, and, afterwards, Mr. Evelyn. In these Gentlemen was vested, under the controul of the Governor-General and Council, the entire management of the revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

The

The first material act of the new Board, in 1781, was to form the Settlement of Bengal, which they did, at a considerable increase upon the former year's revenues, and at a moment of general distress.

On the 19th of November, 1781, when Mr. Hastings was at Chunar, Mr. Shore, the acting President, and his Committee, wrote a letter to the Council, in which they stated, that they had accepted the proposals of Rajah Deby Sing, for the farm of Dinagepore; and they add, "He has been always employed
" in Revenue Offices of the first public trust;
" and his abilities, and indefatigable attention to business, are well known. The
" measure will, we hope, meet with your
" approbation, and to our choice of the
" man; no objection can, we apprehend, be
" made."

The Committee also appointed Deby Sing Dewan of Dinagepore, and he took, in the name of his brother, the districts of Rungpore, and Edraepore, in farm, for two years, at an advanced rent, in May, 1781.

As the ground of his whole argument, without which it could not stand for a moment, Mr. Burke assumed and affirmed, that

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Deby

Deby Sing was appointed to these offices, through the influence of Gunga Govind Sing, the Dewan of the Committee of Revenue; and that this appointment had, though in what manner was not clearly explained, a connection with the money which Mr. Hastings received as a present from Dinagepore, consequently Mr. Hastings was accountable for all Deby Sing's acts.

But the first assertion he knew to be completely unfounded when he made it, from the pointed evidence given to his Committee by Mr. Anderson, in reply to questions put by Mr. Burke himself.

The second he knew to be so also, because the money received by Mr. Hastings from Dinagepore, was a peshcush on the succession of the new Rajah, which was received by instalments, and paid into the Company's Treasury, on the first and second of November, 1780, as Mr. Larkins's letter proves: and Deby Sing had no connection with Dinagepore, until April, 1781. He was Dewan to the Provincial Council of Moorshedabad in the month of November, 1780, and for two months after.

So that whether Mr. Hastings acted right or wrong, in receiving large sums of money
for

for the Company's use, at a time when the preservation of India depended upon the realization of every rupee that could be procured, it is proved, beyond contradiction, that the appointment of Deby Sing had no sort of connection with that present.

I now proceed to prove to you, that whether the accusations against Deby Sing were well or ill founded, Mr. Hastings could not, as Mr. Burke well knew, under any possible construction, be accountable for them.

Deby Sing farmed the districts of Dinagore, &c. for two years, from April, 1781. The first year he fulfilled his engagements with a punctuality superior to any other renter in Bengal. Towards the close of the second year, that is in January, 1783, an insurrection broke out in Rungpore, which was quelled by the exertion of a military force, and the activity of Mr. Goodlad, the English Resident in the Province. On his reporting the transaction to the Committee of Revenue, they very properly ordered one of their assistants, Mr. Patterson, to proceed to Rungpore with particular instructions for enquiring into the causes of so unusual an insurrection.

rection. Mr. Shore was, at that time, the presiding Member of the Committee.

On the third of March, 1783, the appointment of Mr. Patterson was notified to the Governor General and Council, Mr. Hastings being then present, who so far from shewing favour to Deby Sing, or having a wish to screen him, wrote back to the Committee, " We direct that he be immediately removed, and some other person appointed in his stead, as we are convinced *" a fair enquiry can never be made whilst he remains in authority. If it shall appear on the enquiry that he is innocent of the charges which have been alledged against him, we will indemnify him for his temporary suspension from the service."* *This was the first interference of Mr. Hastings, in the business of Deby Sing.*

Mr. Patterson proceeded to Rungpore, made two reports to the Committee of Revenue, enumerating all those horrid cruelties which Mr. Burke seemed to have so much pleasure in detailing. The Committee called upon Mr. Patterson for his proofs. He grew warm, and much altercation ensued. In these

these altercations the remainder of the year 1783 passed over.

In February, 1784, Mr. Hastings left Calcutta, and proceeded to Lucknow. On the 31st of March, 1784, Mr. Wheler, Sir John Macpherson, and Mr. Stables, took into consideration the Committee of Revenue's report of Mr. Patterson's investigation, which had not been delivered until the 27th of January. The Board met four days, morning and evening, to read all the proceedings, and all Mr. Patterson's translated papers, which were very voluminous; and then Mr. Wheler, Mr. Macpherson, and Mr. Stables, resolved unanimously, that Deby Sing should be immediately arrested and confined, and his property secured; that Mr. Goodlad should be ordered to attend the Board, to answer to the charges which appeared against him; and that a commission of three covenanted servants should be appointed to investigate effectually the accusations brought against Deby Sing, by Mr. Patterson.

The Gentlemen appointed were Messrs. Pote, Ogilvie, and Broughton, whom Mr. Burke twice positively affirmed to be junior to Mr. Patterson, although they were in fact
his

his seniors by three years, in the service. Would you, or any man, suppose, from the terms in which these appointments were mentioned, that Mr. Hastings was eight hundred miles distant at the time, and knew nothing of the measure until it was effected? and whether the Members of the Supreme Council, two of whom are now in England, decided wisely, or unwisely, in forming a commission, and not including Mr. Patterson in it, or in permitting him to go to Rungpore, though he was excluded from the commission, is of little moment to enquire; for Mr. Hastings had nothing directly or indirectly to do with any part of the business. The same unfortunate spirit of contention again broke out. Months elapsed with appeals to the Supreme Council from the Commissioners, from Mr. Patterson, from Deby Sing, and from the Committee; and when Mr. Hastings returned to Calcutta in November, 1784, no report had been delivered, nor was any visible progress made in so extraordinary a business.

Mr. Hastings having resumed his seat at the Board, a letter was written to the Commissioners on the 17th of December, reminding them

them of the length of time that had elapsed since the date of their commission, and desiring to know what further time they would want to complete the enquiry. The Commissioners in reply state the causes of delay; but the Board, Mr. Hastings being present, peremptorily ordered that the enquiry should close on the 28th of February, 1785. *This was the last interference of Mr. Hastings in the business of Deby Sing.*

On the 1st of February, 1785, Mr. Hastings resigned the service, and on that day *ended all his responsibility in this affair.* I affirm, that when Mr. Burke made his speech, he knew the facts, which I have stated, as completely as I now know them, since we both draw our information from the same public documents; and Mr. Burke could not have misrepresented the whole proceedings so grossly, without having read all that was necessary to discover the following truths.

1st. That the peshcush or present from Dinagepore was paid into the Company's Treasury in the month of November, 1780.

2d. That Deby Sing had no appointments of any kind, in Dinagepore, until April,

1781.

1781, five months subsequent to the receipt of that money.

3d. That he was recommended for the appointments which he then received, by Mr. D. Anderson; and that they were conferred upon him against the remonstrances of Gunga Govind Sing, as Mr. Burke well knew from the evidence of Mr. Anderson.

4th. That Mr. Shore (whose good opinion of Deby Sing was universally known) in Mr. Hastings's absence, wrote a public letter to the Board, in which he says, "Deby Sing
" has been always employed in Revenue
" Offices of the first public trust, and his
" abilities and indefatigable attention to bu-
" siness are well known, &c."

5th. That he held his farms at a considerable increase upon the former settlement, not as a matter of favour, but because he was the best bidder.

6th. That his engagement was for two years, from April, 1781.

7th. That the first year's revenues were paid, by him, without balance or complaint.

8th. That an insurrection broke out in Rungpore towards the close of the second year.

9th. That on information having been sent to the Committee of Revenue, they deputed one of their own assistants, Mr. Patterson, to enquire into the causes of it, investing him with full powers.

10th. That the Governor General and Council ordered Deby Sing to be removed, from a conviction that no fair enquiry could take place if he were continued in office, but promised to indemnify him if his innocence should be proved; and that Mr. Hastings, who thought less favourably of Deby Sing than Mr. Anderson or Mr. Shore did, was the person who caused this order to be issued.

11th. That Mr. Patterson, in his reports, accused Deby Sing as the author of the insurrection, by his cruelties and oppressions.

12th. That the Committee of Revenue called upon Mr. Patterson for proofs of his assertions.

13th. That Mr. Patterson returned to Calcutta, with a number of vouchers, and made a further report in September, 1783.

14th. That Mr. Shore, in October, 1783, made a variety of Remarks upon Mr. Patterson's proceedings, amongst which are the following: " The complaints are stated by

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" Mr.

“ Mr. Patterson to have been universal; and
 “ he remarks that this and the public noto-
 “ riety of the transactions were, in themselves,
 “ almost sufficient to preclude the necessity
 “ of specific proof; but that the Committee
 “ cannot allow any thing to be fact without
 “ its particular document and vouchers. I
 “ know not whence he was authorized to
 “ make this last assertion, and lay down the
 “ opinion of the Committee for them, nor
 “ can I agree with him in the justice of the
 “ preceding remark. Mr. Patterson has, it
 “ is true, been frequently reminded of the
 “ necessity of laying before the Committee
 “ the vouchers, proofs, and documents, on
 “ which he himself had formed a decided
 “ opinion. *When the voice of a whole people,*
 “ *as Mr. Patterson asserts, calls out against*
 “ *oppression, it cannot surely be difficult to obtain,*
 “ *from amongst thousands of complainants, sa-*
 “ *tisfactory evidence of the charges exhibited.*
 “ *Most of the crimes alledged are, in their*
 “ *nature, capable of positive and specific proof.”*
 “ If the opinion delivered by Mr. Patterson
 “ on the 17th of June was founded on evi-
 “ dence, and not upon mere accusation, I de-
 “ sire to know where that evidence appears;
 “ and

“ and until he shall produce it, I have a right
 “ to pronounce his opinion, as there given,
 “ premature.”

“ From the industry with which the ac-
 “ cusations against Deby Sing have been
 “ circulated in Calcutta, few persons, I be-
 “ lieve, are ignorant of them; and to those
 “ uninformed, the conduct of the Committee
 “ will appear in a doubtful light, for not
 “ punishing a man who is supposed guilty
 “ of such violent and flagrant acts of in-
 “ justice and oppression; but I am not, for
 “ my own part, disposed to admit censure
 “ where I am conscious of not deserving it.
 “ Guilt must be proved before punishment
 “ can be inflicted; and whilst the decision of
 “ the Committee is protracted by delays on
 “ the part of Mr. Patterson, and depends,
 “ upon proofs, to be produced by him, it is
 “ a justice I owe to myself and the Commit-
 “ tee, to state the real cause of the delay.

15th. That the altercation between the
 Committee of Revenue and Mr. Patterson, de-
 layed the Committee's report until the 27th
 of January, 1784.

16th. That Mr. Hastings was then about
 to proceed to Lucknow, and left Calcutta the

17th of Feb. 1784, Mr. Macpherson being absent for the recovery of his health.

17th. That on the 6th of March, 1784, Mr. Macpherson being returned, and Mr. Hastings at Lucknow, the Board proceeded to take into consideration the Report of the Committee of Revenue, the Members present being Mr. Wheeler, who is dead, Sir John Macpherson, and Mr. Stables, who are both in England.

18th. That they met four days, morning and evening, to read the report, and Mr. Patterson's papers.

19th. That after having read the papers, they unanimously determined to call Mr. Goodlad to Calcutta, to confine Deby Sing to secure his effects, and to appoint Commissioners to investigate the Charges against Deby Sing and Mr. Goodlad.

20th. That these Commissioners were three years older in the service than Mr. Patterson.

21st. That the following oath was administered to Mr. Pote and the other Commissioners,

“ I, Edward E. Pote, being appointed by the Governor-General and Council, a Member of the Commissioners, to enquire into the
cause

cause of the disturbances and insurrections lately prevailing in the Province of Rungpore and Dinagepore, and into the complaints preferred against Rajah Deby Sing, for alledged oppression during the period of his farm of the said Provinces, do solemnly promise, and swear, that I will truly, and faithfully, and to the best of my ability and judgment, execute the trust reposed in me by the said Commission; and that I will exert myself to the utmost to collect the best possible evidence relative to the cruelties and oppressions charged to Deby Sing, so that the whole truth shall, to the best of my abilities, be brought before the Governor General and Council, to guide their judgment and ultimate decision; and that, in my execution of this commission, I will not accept of, receive, or derive, in any manner, directly, or indirectly, any emolument or advantage whatever, except such as shall be publicly allowed me by the Governor General and Council.

22d. That Mr. Patterson obtained permission, from the Board, to proceed to Rungpore.

23d. That violent disputes broke out between Mr. Patterson and the Commissioners.

24th. That

24th. That Mr. Patterson returned to Calcutta, in or before November, 1784.

25th. That he complained to the Board of the Committee of Revenue, and of the Commissioners.

26th. That the Committee justified themselves, and demanded some satisfaction for the calumnies of Mr. Patterson; and that the Governor-General and Council censured him for his intemperance.

27th. That Mr. Hastings returned to Calcutta in November, 1784.

28th. That the Commissioners, on his return, were ordered to make their report.

29th. That they requested further time, and were allowed to the 28th of February, 1785, the Board, Mr. Hastings present, declaring that they had had time enough to make their report.

30th. That Mr. Goodlad earnestly prayed the Board to pronounce judgment upon his conduct.

31st. That Mr. Macpherson thought Mr. Goodlad's defence upon each and all the charges, strong in his favour, but wished to wait for the Commissioners report before a final judgment was passed.

32d. That on the same day, Jan. 21, 1785, Mr. Hastings declared he entirely acquitted Mr. Goodlad, and added, " Whatever crimes
 " may be established against Rajah Deby
 " Sing, it does not follow that Mr. Goodlad
 " was responsible for them; and I so well
 " know the character and abilities of Deby
 " Sing, that I can easily conceive, that it was
 " in his power both to commit the enormities
 " which are laid to his charge, and to conceal the grounds of them from Mr. Goodlad."

33d. That Mr. Hastings quitted India on the 1st of February, 1785.

I have now, Mr. Fox, regularly brought down this story of Deby Sing to the day Mr. Hastings left India. I have made use of no other materials than those which Mr. Burke possessed; and I defy any man living to criminate Mr. Hastings for any one part of his conduct in it; yet as Mr. Burke told it, the Lord Chancellor, and the Duke of Richmond, were induced to affirm, as honest, just, and conscientious men, that the articles before the Lords sunk to utter insignificance, when compared with Mr. Burke's opening matter; and that he would be a calumniator if he did

not

not bring it forward in such a shape as should enable Mr. Hastings to meet it. Has Mr. Burke done this, or can he do it? Will he support, in the House of Commons, his assertion, that Mr. Hastings set up Cossim Ally Cawn; that he was present and interpreted on the business of the three seals; or that he is accountable for the supposed cruelties of Deby Sing? I affirm he will not. But the history of Deby Sing affords so useful a lesson, that I will continue the story. Mr. Hastings has done with it.

The Commissioners, after Mr. Hastings's departure, represented, that much longer time was necessary to enable them to make a full report than the Council had allowed, who gave them to the 1st of May; and being at length returned to Calcutta, they, on the 29th of October, 1785, made their first report: representations were also received from Mr. Goodlad, and Mr. Patterson; and on the 23d of February, 1786, the Board acquitted Mr. Goodlad, deeming some parts of his conduct imprudent and reprehensible; and adding, that he should be again employed "whenever the Board find a fit opportunity of availing themselves of his services."

"vices." The Board consisted of Sir John Macpherson, General Sloper, Mr. Stables, and Mr. Stuart.

On the 25th of April, 1786, the Commander in Chief (Sir Robert Sloper) moved, that an early day be fixed for the trial of Rajah Deby Sing; and the Board determined that the Governor-General should appoint as early a day as could be conveniently practicable. Here we lose sight of the business totally during Sir John Macpherson's administration. On the 11th of September, 1786, Earl Cornwallis arrived in Bengal, accompanied by Mr. Shore, who found this strange affair of Deby Sing as much undecided as it had been when he left Bengal nineteen months before; but on the 18th of October, the preparer of Reports stated, that there were several petitions undecided upon, referred to him on the 7th of September; amongst the rest was one from Deby Sing, praying for a decision on the charges against him.

The public officer remarks upon this petition, that the report of the Commissioners has been lying before the Board for several

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months

months past. It was then resolved that it should be taken into consideration after the Swallow's dispatch—that is, in November or December, 1786.

On the 8th of December, 1786, Earl Cornwallis delivered in to the Council the following Letter, which he had received from Mr. Goodlad. It contains the best answer that can be given to all that Mr. Burke said against that Gentleman in his opening Speech.

MY LORD,

IN the month of April, 1781, I was appointed Collector of Rungpore, and in the same month a general settlement of the lands took place. The Provinces of Rungpore, Dinagepore, and Goragaut, were given in farm at an encreased rent, to Rajah Deby Sing, for the term of two years, and the farmer placed under my superintendence. During the first year the farmer fulfilled his engagements to Government, with a punctuality superior to any other renter in Bengal.

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In the second year (though the settlement of Rungpore, made by the farmer with his under-renters, was near half a lack of rupees less than his engagements with Government) towards the expiration of his lease, part of the district rose in arms against him, when not half of the revenue of the year was realized; murdered such of his officers as they could seize, erected a Nabob and government among themselves, raised contributions, marched through sundry parts of the district in arms, compelled such natives as were peaceably inclined to join them in opposition to all authority, and by proclamation forbade all payments of revenue to Government whatever. To quell so formidable an insurrection, I was obliged, after trying every lenient measure, to have recourse to military aid; some lives were lost; but in about a month, I had the happiness to subdue the insurgents, and restore peace to the district. Sensible that I had been involved in difficulties of the most serious nature, and such as, I believe, no Collector before ever had to encounter, I represented, as was my duty, all the particulars of the insurrection to the

Honourable Board, and requested, in the most urgent terms, that my conduct might undergo the strictest investigation. To this application I received no reply; and shortly afterwards I repaired to Calcutta. During my stay there I never was called upon. On the contrary, the farmer's lease being expired, I was remanded to my original appointment of Rungpore, which was solely put under my own management; and I had the happiness of realizing my revenue *without balance or complaint*. Prior to this, on the insurrection being quelled, the Gentlemen of the Committee of Revenue appointed Mr. Paterfon to investigate into the causes of it. On the perusal of Mr. Paterfon's report, the Hon. Board conceiving *that* there were some parts of it that reflected on me, called me to Calcutta, and at the same time gave my district in charge to Mr. Peter Moore, while my conduct should undergo an investigation. I repaired to the Presidency at a warning of three days: and after remaining there two months, a list of charges was delivered to me by the Honourable Board for my reply. This was more than eighteen months after
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the insurrection had taken place. The Honourable Board having gone through Mr. Paterson's report, and finding it incomplete, appointed a commission of three, Company's servants, to investigate the farmer's conduct. The charges, brought against me, remained in full force. I delivered my reply to these charges to the Honourable Board; and Mr. Hastings (*who had been absent all this time at Lucknow*) being returned to Calcutta, on the perusal of my replies, entered a minute at the Board exculpating me in the most ample manner from all the charges. This was in the month of Jan. 1785. The majority of the Board thinking a further investigation was still necessary, referred my answers to the inquiry of the Gentlemen of the Commission at Rungpore, at the same time sending Mr. Paterson a copy of my replies, and calling on him for the proof of his charges exhibited against me. The Commissioners, after their return to Calcutta, delivered in their report concerning me. Mr. Moore, who had been left in charge of my district, during the investigation into my conduct, returned to England in the the month of August: and Mr. Amherst
who

who had acted as assistant to me, and Mr. Moore, was left to conduct the business of Rungpore during the continuance of the enquiry. It was some time before the Honourable Board entered on the Commissioner's report, on the charges exhibited against me by Mr. Paterfon. But just before they commenced this investigation, Mr. Amherst, my assistant, was removed from the temporary charge of the collections of Rungpore, to be assistant to the Collector of Chupra. The Gentlemen of the Committee of Revenue were ordered to appoint a person to take charge in consequence of his removal; and Mr. M'Dowall being nominated, the Honourable Board approved of the nomination. On this footing Mr. M'Dowall still holds the station unless some subsequent mode of appointment has taken place that I am ignorant of: the Honourable Board, on the 23d of February last, having perused the Commissioner's report on the charges exhibited against me by Mr. Paterfon, amply acquitted me; and in confirmation of it, granted me my allowances as Collector of Rungpore during the two years I had been detained in Calcutta

on

on this business. In consequence of this acquittal, I applied to the Honourable Board on the 10th of March, for leave to return to my Collectorship of Rungpore; but to this moment I have never been able to obtain an answer; or have I received an official dismissal from my station. On the contrary, I was five months ago sent to another district, two thirds of which belonged to the Collectorship of Rungpore during the insurrection, and had any objections remained to my reinstatement, they would operate as strongly against my having any part of my original district, as my having the whole.

Such, my Lord, are the particulars of my case, which have led me to trouble you with the foregoing narrative. My situation I conceive to be attended with peculiar hardship; for after having been accused, the strictest, and, as I may say, double investigation made into the charges laid against me, I stand acquitted—my allowances are paid me for the two years I was detained on this enquiry, and yet I am not permitted to return to my station, *although it now appears I was called down without cause.* Under such circumstances

cumstances I submit to your Lordship's judgment, if my acquittal can be called full and complete, if I am not reinstated in my former appointment. I will not dwell on the peculiar hardship of Mr. M'Dowall being sent to take charge of my station a few days before the Board entered on the enquiry into my conduct, or the irregularity of Mr. M'Dowall still holding the appointment: but I appeal to your Lordship's justice, if my claim on my original nomination, will not justify me in my application to *return* to my original station at Rungpore. Should your Lordship, on enquiry into the particulars of what I have above stated, deem me entitled to the justice I have desired, I take the liberty of requesting you will lay this letter before the Honourable Board.

I am, &c.

(Signed) R. GOODLAD.

CALCUTTA,
Nov. 24, 1786.

ORDERED

Mr. Goodlad's letter was ordered to lie upon the table until the proceedings of the Commissioners on Rajah Deby Sing's enquiry should be taken up.

This last article closes the information which Mr. Burke had before him when he spoke in Westminster-hall. He could not have said what he did without reading those documents which I have read; and he could not read them without knowing that his speech was a gross and wilful misrepresentation throughout: but his conduct was as weak, as it was unjust. He began on the first day, by declaring, that he would not take the privilege allowed to an advocate; he would not assert what he could not prove. Two days after he stated what he knew to be false. Did he suppose that no other person would go over the same materials? I have gone over them carefully and correctly, and I pledge my honour, and my character, upon the fidelity of my account.

God forbid, Mr. Fox, that I should wantonly implicate you, or any other Gentleman, in a transaction so thoroughly iniquitous. Possibly Mr. Burke reserved Deby Sing for a *bon bouche*, for, if I am

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not

not much mistaken, I heard you say, when he had finished, and while some Ladies were fainting, and others weeping, that you never heard a word of the story before. Possibly he took you, as I assure you he did me, by surprize.

Mr. Burke has mistaken the character of Mr. Paterfon as widely as he has misrepresented the business of Deby Sing. Instead of being the milk and water Being, whom Mr. Burke has described, he is a Gentleman of a very lively genius, of infinite wit and humour—a most pleasant and chearful companion, for I had the pleasure of knowing him well; and I am sure no person will be more surprized than himself, to hear that he should have been the cause of so unjustifiable an attack upon a man he highly respects, as I know he does Mr. Hastings.

Here I should close the account if I did not feel an anxiety for the honour of the Government of Bengal. I wish to rescue that Government from the injustice which has been done to it. True it is, I can oppose to the rhapsodies of Mr. Burke, the declarations of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Grenville; of Sir John Macpherson, Mr. Shore,
Major

Major Rennel, Mr. Rouse, and fifty other Gentlemen of character who have spent their lives in India. The three first have every possible mode of acquiring authentic information that men can have, who never crossed the line—the others speak from local knowledge; and they all agree in affirming, that Bengal has for many years, been the best governed country in Indostan, the natives the happiest in India, and their property the best secured. In a country so governed, it would be extraordinary if such cruelties, as Deby Sing was accused of, had not been instantly enquired into. Why the decision has been so long protracted, though the sepoy guard upon the person of Deby Sing has been withdrawn, Lord Cornwallis and his Council have explained, by saying in their letter, by the Ravensworth, “that they shall proceed, to a
“ decision on the merits, as soon as the variety of avocations, in which their time is
“ constantly employed, will admit.” The voluminous report of the Commissioners, made by Gentlemen of character, under the solemn sanction of an oath, is now at the India House.

I shall content myself with inserting the following extracts from that report, to prove

to you that there was no foundation for those dreadful stories, which, to relate, was an outrage to decency.—I therefore lay to the charge of Mr. Burke, the fainting of Mrs. Sheridan, the waste of Mrs. North's salts, and the tears of Mrs. Siddons.—The report is dated, Calcutta, 23d March, 1786, and it was received at the India House in April, 1788.

10th Charge. “ Putting the nipples of their
“ breasts between cleft bamboos.”

“ After a very minute examination of the
“ papers delivered by Mr. Paterfon, we have
“ never been able to discover from whence
“ this charge originated, nor the parties on
“ whom such dreadful tortures had been
“ inflicted : not satisfied with examination of
“ the papers, we made a very particular private and public enquiry from numbers of
“ people of Dinagepore, summoned on other
“ complaints, and all the zemindars of Rung-
“ pore, but could get no information, *or find*
“ *any one who ever heard of such cruelties.*
“ We then, on the 27th of March, called
“ upon Mr. Paterfon to point out the person who had suffered this punishment.
“ *Mr. Paterfon replied, that two years had*
“ *elapsed ;*

“ elapsed; that he did not recollect the name of
 “ the parties; that all the papers were with the
 “ Commissioners; that if they could not find the
 “ charge among the papers, that they would re-
 “ port accordingly.”

11th Charge.—N. B. I have erased the words of this charge as too indecent for insertion, though stated by Mr. Burke in Westminster Hall; you will recollect them.

“ This charge appears in the Zebaunbun-
 “ dee of Basdeo Doss, where it is stated,
 “ ‘ The widow of Gorachund Riott, late
 “ inhabitant of Shawdabey, had fire forcibly
 “ applied to, &c. &c.’ On the 25th of
 “ February, we summoned the widow of Go-
 “ rachund Riott of Shawdabey, named Pul-
 “ launnee, who deposed that fire never was
 “ applied to any part of her body. Ram-
 “ hurree, whose name is signed as a witness
 “ to Basdeo Doss, Zebaunbundee, deposes,
 “ that Basdeo Doss, when he read over the
 “ petition to him, did not read the circum-
 “ stance of a lighted moshaul (torch) being
 “ applied to the widow of Gorachund.
 “ Basdeo Doss, on the 10th of April, when
 “ called upon to prove this charge, as stated

“ in his Zebaunbundee, deposes, that he nei-
 “ ther saw, or knew, any thing of the parties,
 “ but heard of such a circumstance, and
 “ that he wrote it in his deposition at the
 “ desire of the riotts.

“ *We enquired, both publicly and privately,*
 “ *of numberless people of Rungpore, and Di-*
 “ *nagepore, and never could learn that such tor-*
 “ *ture had ever been inflicted, from whence we*
 “ *conclude that the charge is not true, because*
 “ *the punishment is so dreadful in its nature,*
 “ *that if it had been inflicted it must have been*
 “ *known and brought forward.*

“ Bolanaut, in his deposition on the 22d
 “ of March says, that the story originated
 “ from the people of Dinagepore, mocking
 “ the aumlah of Dhee Jumtah.

“ Among the translated papers, delivered
 “ by Mr. Paterfon, there are other petitions
 “ stating various severities and cruelties; one,
 “ in particular, signed by five witnesses, in
 “ which it is stated, that women were strip-
 “ ped stark naked, and burnt from the waist
 “ downwards.

“ *Out of the five subscribers to the above com-*
 “ *plaint, we examined four, the fifth not being*
 “ *to be found, who all severally deposed that they*
 “ *never*

“ *never heard of such a circumstance; never*
 “ *signed the petition, nor authorized any one to*
 “ *sign such petition in their names.*

“ Kerperam Bhoſe, many years a reſident
 “ of Dinagepore, long entrusted with conſi-
 “ derable employ in the collections of that
 “ diſtrict, againſt whom many of thoſe
 “ charges appear, has given his reply, entered
 “ in Appendix, No. 19, to which we beg leave
 “ to refer your Hon. Board. The accuſation
 “ given by Kerperam, againſt Mr. Paterſon,
 “ the preſent ſituation of Kerperam conſider-
 “ ed, does not appear to us to merit atten-
 “ tion.

“ Having now laid before your Honour-
 “ able Board an abſtract from our proceed-
 “ ings, relative to our enquiry into the cru-
 “ elties ſtated to have been exerciſed on the
 “ riots of Dhee Jumtah in realizing the
 “ revenue, we hope it will be found as full
 “ as the conciſeneſs required by your orders
 “ will admit.

“ *It will doubtleſs appear a matter of ſur-*
 “ *prize, as well as of the greateſt ſatisfaction to*
 “ *your Honourable Board to learn, that the moſt*
 “ *dreadful of the cruelties, ſtated in Mr. Pater-*
 “ *ſon's letter, to have been exerciſed to enforce*
 “ *the*

“ the payment of revenue in Dhee Juntah, have
 “ no existence. But when your Honourable
 “ Board shall recollect the mode in which these
 “ charges have been brought forward, the sur-
 “ prise will cease, particularly when it is con-
 “ sidered the most dreadful charges arose, not
 “ from the voluntary complaint of sufferers
 “ applying for redress and justice, but from
 “ the depositions of Nunderam, Sufdil, and
 “ Basdeo Dofs, men whose misconduct had
 “ subjected them either to punishment, or ap-
 “ prehension of punishment, and therefore
 “ anxious to shelter themselves under a prior
 “ accusation.

“ We must further remark, that the
 “ parties subscribing to the complaints taken
 “ in the Mofussil, were never confronted
 “ with the accused, nor can we find that any
 “ examination was ever made into the charges
 “ subscribed to, therefore a latitude, if not
 “ an encouragement, for accusation, was
 “ given to the riotts without fear of de-
 “ tection of a false complaint, or a possi-
 “ bility of discriminating the true from the
 “ false complaints : and an opportunity pre-
 “ sented to the riotts of evading, at least of
 “ suspending, the payment of the balances
 “ justly

“ justly due to the former, by a representation
 “ of their suffering under such unheard-of
 “ cruelties. *Hourly experience proves that*
 “ *there is no language of complaint which the*
 “ *natives will not adopt, to evade the payment*
 “ *of their revenue.*”

“ These circumstances, taken into confide-
 “ ration, will explain to your Honourable
 “ Board the cause that such dreadful cruelties
 “ shall appear as charges ; yet, upon enquiry,
 “ be unsupported by proof. It will also ac-
 “ count for the duplicates of petitions ap-
 “ pearing with the same signatures, and
 “ explain why the subscribers to various
 “ complaints, when called upon to prove
 “ the oppression, *disavow the signature or*
 “ *knowledge of the circumstance subscribed to*
 “ *in their names.*

“ It is our duty to remark, that Nunde-
 “ ram, Suful, and Basdeo Doss, whose com-
 “ plaints are the foundation of the charges
 “ given in Mr. Paterson’s letter of the 21st
 “ of September, 1783, all of them absconded
 “ on receiving their summons to attend this
 “ commission ; Nunderam beat, and escaped
 “ from, our people, who served the summons
 “ upon him ; that the three concealed them-

“ selves for some months, and were not
 “ produced without great trouble and delay ;
 “ that Nunderam, and Suful, did not make
 “ similar complaints to Mr. Paterfon, while
 “ at Rungpore, where they were confined as
 “ the ringleaders in the infurrection of the
 “ Dhu. But on Mr. Paterfon’s going over
 “ to Dinagepore, they were sent for from
 “ Rungpore to Dinagepore, where they,
 “ with Burder Dofs, who had been punished
 “ by the Rajah for his oppreffion and plunder
 “ of the riotts, gave in thofe Zebaunbunde
 “ in which thefe charges are contained,
 “ fome months after the Rajah had left the
 “ provinces and had returned to Calcutta.

“ It now remains to be confidered how
 “ far fuch of thefe feverities as have been
 “ proved, can be attributed to the Rajah,
 “ or be confidered as refulting from his ex-
 “ actions, knowledge, or inftruction.

“ We have already fhewn, that in the fet-
 “ tlement of Dhu Juntah, for the firft year
 “ of the Rajah’s leafe, he farmed out the
 “ Purgunnah to Ramnarrain, at a settle-
 “ ment of 5,714 rupees lefs than the settle-
 “ ment of the preceding year, as will appear

“ by a reference to the Appendix, No. 20,
 “ containing the settlement of Dhu Juntah
 “ for the two years of the Rajah’s lease,
 “ drawn from papers delivered to the Com-
 “ mission, by Okal Kishen Dofs, Colleychurn,
 “ and Balanaut, the Zemendarru Aumlah of
 “ the Dhu.—In the second year of his lease
 “ the Rajah made a settlement with the
 “ riotts, allowing them a further deduction
 “ of 5,490 rupees on the Jumma of the for-
 “ mer year, of which settlement there was a
 “ balance due of rupees 8,689 at the end of
 “ the year.

“ At the settlement made with the riotts
 “ of Dhu Juntah for 1,190, they delivered
 “ in a paper of request for certain indulg-
 “ ences to the Rajah : a translate of this pa-
 “ per, and the Rajah’s answers to the re-
 “ quests, is given in Appendix No. 21.
 “ This paper was delivered to us by Nun-
 “ deram, the Rajah, in his compliance with
 “ these several requests, appears to have given
 “ them every indulgence they required.”

“ *When the deductions annually given by
 “ the Rajah on the settlement of Dhu Juntah,
 “ the Rajah’s compliance with the request of
 “ the riotts, and that no complaint of the in-*

“ *fiction of severities and cruelties were made*
 “ *to the Rajah are considered, your Honourable*
 “ *Board must decide, whether the infliction of*
 “ *such severities was either with his approbation*
 “ *or knowledge; and if such complaint had*
 “ *been made, whether he would not, as in the*
 “ *instances of Ramnarrain, and Basdeo Doss,*
 “ *have punished the offenders in proportion to*
 “ *the enormity of the crime. Justice obliges*
 “ *us to observe, that we have not been able to*
 “ *fix upon the Rajah any knowledge of, or*
 “ *consent to, the infliction of such severities as*
 “ *have been proved, except upon Basdeo Doss,*
 “ *and Ramnarrain, who were punished, by the*
 “ *order of the Rajah, for their oppressions and*
 “ *plunder of the riots.*”

Your friends, Mr. Fox, must sincerely lament the folly and the wickedness of a misrepresentation, attended with such melancholy effects, if they have but a very small proportion of that humanity to which they so largely pretend. The allegations in the articles, sunk, as it was justly observed by two noble Lords, to utter insignificance, when compared with the matter stated in the opening; and if it were not true, that modern patriots have forfeited the confidence of the public,

public, very ferious consequences might have followed. You are fond of alluding to the period of Lord Strafford's trial, and you know the violences to which the great and the little vulgar then went—but the people now generously withhold their belief of facts, stated by men who have so often deceived them, until Mr. Hastings himself can be heard. There was a time when the word of Mr. Burke, or your own, would have passed as current as the bond of any man who is in the habit of paying his tradesmen's bills—but the patriotic mask was thrown off in 1783. The Coalition in that year convinced us, that patriots, to obtain power, will abandon principle—and the business of Mr. Powell, and Mr. Bembridge, shewed to what lengths private interests will carry public men. Hereafter the people of England will require patriotic assertions to be established by legal proofs.

I will act that honourable part by Mr. Burke, which, as representing the Commons of England, it was his bounden duty to have acted towards Mr. Hastings. I accuse him of knowing, when he spoke in Westminster-hall, that if such horrid cruelties had been
com-

committed, as he mentioned, it would be impossible to impute them to Mr. Hastings. Not all the patriots, and all the lawyers, in Great Britain, can exculpate Mr. Burke from this charge, or fritter away its enormity. It is possible that Mr. Burke knew not, when he spoke, what he knows now, that even the charge against Deby Sing was false in the most material parts of it—but an honest man, before he stated accusations as proved facts, would have thought himself bound, in honour, to procure the best possible information. Mr. Burke had seen, and conversed with, Sir John Macpherson and Mr. Stables. He might also have summoned Sir Robert Sloper. These Gentlemen knew, and would doubtless have told Mr. Burke, that the most dreadful of the charges which Mr. Paterson had received against Deby Sing, were proved, upon investigation, to be false, eight months before they left Bengal.—To allude more particularly to them, would be justly offensive to every man of honour. Mr. Burke's statement was an insult to every virtuous woman who heard him. It was an outrage to decency. Had truth been the object of his pursuit, he might have discovered it, and spared the tears, the blushes, and the salts of com-

compassionate beauty.——Parliamentary orators have ever been allowed to amplify. No man has given a wider range to his fancy than Mr. Burke. For eight succeeding years did he join you in exposing the folly, the imbecility, the indolence, and even the treachery of Lord North. His panegyricks upon the same noble Lord, produced not such thunder of applause. We have since heard him expatiate upon the presumption of Mr. Pitt—and the despotism and corruption of Mr. Dundas. Strong language, too often repeated, loses its force.—Panegyrick and abuse are now become equally farcical, for no man hereafter will venture to affirm, that when a modern patriot draws the sword, he throws away the scabbard.

The “ Warlike Harry *,” and the benevolent Mr. Burke, may be joint Pay-masters
in

* In the debate upon that excellent bill, which conferred absolute power upon Earl Cornwallis, Mr. Burke opposed the measure, as Mr. Doddsley tells us, with a torrent of eloquence—denied that it was calculated to give energy, vigor, and dispatch to executive government being weakness, debility, and delay. He concluded by thus predicting the consequences of such a measure :

“ Then

in the next administration; and they may agree, as they did when Lord Rockingham was living, upon the propriety of a new India system.

In Westminster-hall Mr. Burke professed to act upon new principles; so far from requiring that latitude used in St. Stephens, he disclaimed even the privilege of an advocate, and pledged himself not to utter a word that he would not prove, either by oral or written evidence.

That he grossly and wilfully misrepresented the history of Deby Sing; and the three seals is proved by authentic documents, beyond the power of contradiction: nor was Mr. Burke more correct in his statement of other points, which had no reference to the articles.

What man living, who has been in India, would have thought it necessary to say, that Mr. Hastings never interfered with the natives in their religious ceremonies, unless Mr. Burke had affirmed the contrary? We have been marked, through all the gradations of

“ Then shall the warlike Harry, like himself,
 “ Assume the port of Mars, and, at his heels,
 “ Leash’d in like hounds, shall famine, sword, and fire,
 “ Crouch for employment.”

our

our service, for the most pointed caution, never to interrupt them in their devotions, or to treat men, who differed from ourselves, with that contempt, to which, in less enlightened times, the natives of India were subject, under the Portuguese. For many years past we have made the laws, customs, history, and language, of Indostan our study. No man has been more distinguished in these studies than Mr. Hastings. It was by his direction that a compilation of the Hindoo laws was completed; and by his orders, a translation of the Mahometan laws was begun, which is now continued under the sanction of the Court of Directors. The study of the Persian language is become very general in Bengal, and some of our countrymen have acquired that critical knowledge of it, which few natives can boast. It is a circumstance, not unworthy notice, that the late Mr. George Bogle, when at Thibet, translated some of Shakspeare's plays for the Lama; and that Captain Jonathan Scott, when at Lucknow with Mr. Hastings, wrote, by desire of the Nabob Vizier, an abridgement of Ancient and Modern History, in the Persian language, being the first work of the kind

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that

that ever appeared in Indostan. It continues to be read by every man of education in the Nabob's dominions.

In opposition to these facts, we have been described by Mr. Burke merely as birds of prey and passage, the plunderers of the property of the natives, and the violators of their religion. The ground of the latter assertion is ridiculous in the extreme. A Court had for years been established in Calcutta, called the Jaut Mall, or Cast Cutcherry, with a very confined jurisdiction. Of this Court, the banyan of Mr. Hastings's predecessors, had been the President, and his banyan as a matter of course, continued in the same situation. It was publicly held at the Government House, and its decisions were invariably according to the known institutes of the Hindoo religion. So far from acting under influence, it is a fact that Lord Clive was unable to procure, for a Hindoo, the cast that he had lost, by the imprudence of another person.

Equally erroneous was Mr. Burke's information on another occasion. Speaking formerly of Benares, he said—"But here, Sir, mark the effects of all these *extraordinary* means, of all this policy and justice. The
" revenues

“ revenues which had hitherto been paid
 “ with such astonishing punctuality, fell in-
 “ to arrears. The new Prince Guardian
 “ was deposed, without ceremony, and with
 “ as little, cast into prison. *The government*
 “ *of this happy country has been in the utmost*
 “ *confusion ever since such good order was taken*
 “ *about it.* But to complete the contumely
 “ offered to this undone people, and to make
 “ them feel their servitude in all its degrada-
 “ tion, and all its bitterness, *the government*
 “ *of their sacred city, the government of that*
 “ *Benares, which had been so respected by Per-*
 “ *sian and Tartar conquerors, though of the*
 “ *Mahometan persuasion, that in the plenitude*
 “ *of their pride, power, and bigotry, no man of*
 “ *that sect ever entered the place, was now*
 “ delivered over, by English hands, to a
 “ Mahometan; and an Ali Ibrahim Cawn
 “ was introduced, under the Company’s
 “ authority, with power of life and death,
 “ into the sanctuary of the Gentoo religion.”

The speech from which this very extra-
 ordinary extract was taken, Mr. Burke spoke
 on the 1st of December, 1783, when he be-
 held, in imagination, India at his feet. He
 printed it; and it has been puffed off in Re-

views and Annual Registers, “ as the most
 “ beautiful, sublime, and finished compo-
 “ tion that his labours had produced.” It
 may be so, if we treat the whole as a novel,
 or attend to it merely as we do to a play
 acted upon Mr. Sheridan’s boards in Drury-
 lane. But the assertions that I have quoted
 are not merely false in fact, but so palpably
 false, that if Mr. Burke had conversed on the
 subject with the youngest Ensign in our
 Army, who had ever passed Benares even by
 water, he would have told him, that the first
 objects which struck his view, as he ap-
 proached “ *that sacred city which no Mahome-
 tan ever entered,*” were two Minarets, that on
 closer examination he found them placed very
 near to a Hindoo Temple.—Had Mr. Burke
 enquired further, he might have been inform-
 ed, that when Benares was under a Maho-
 metan sovereign, which it was for more than
 two centuries, a Mahometan chief Magistrate
always resided in the city; that on the transfer
 of the sovereignty to the English, we en-
 trusted the police of the city to Cheyt Sing,
 the zemindar, and a Hindoo; that he noto-
 riously neglected it; that on his expulsion,
 Mr. Hastings appointed Ali Ibrahim Cawn,
 a Maho-

a Mahometan of a most respectable character, to be the Chief Magistrate, under whose administration Benares has become the most flourishing, and the best regulated city in Indostan.

If I should say a few words upon that article which Mr. Francis opened, it is not from a wish to invade that Gentleman's province, but for the purpose of clearing up what Mr. Burke left obscure, in his story of Deby Sing. Sir John Macpherson was nominated a Member of the Supreme Council of Bengal in 1780, through the influence of Lord North, and arrived in Bengal in Oct. 1781. Anxious to prove himself a better public servant than Mr. Burke has represented him in one of his reports, he applied, upon his arrival, to Mr. Shore, amongst others, for such information as he could give him on the subject of the revenues of Bengal. He knew not the critical situation in which he stood at the time. He knew not how near Lord North then was to his political dissolution, or that Mr. Burke would labour to remove him, on the ground of his being the most unfit man in the three kingdoms, to fill so important an office. Such empty sounds are
the

the praise and censure of thorough-bred traders in politics, that Mr. Macpherson has been described by Mr. Burke at two different periods, as the most dangerous man the Company ever employed, and as a very valuable servant.——When Lord North was the Minister, Mr. Macpherson was a man of the deepest intrigue, who had attempted to bribe the Duke of Grafton, in order to support the Nabob of Arcot. But when his Lordship and Mr. Burke sat on the same Bench, gods, what a change!!! the sentiments of Mr. Macpherson were quoted, and he was pronounced a very valuable servant of the Company!!!!

Mr. Shore, in consequence of the application, drew up a series of remarks, which had been in Mr. Macpherson's possession, from the 13th of Jan. 1782, until the 18th of May, 1785, when, for the first time, these remarks were entered upon the records, being four months after Mr. Hastings and Mr. Shore had quitted India together. Mr. Macpherson premised that they had not been meant for the public eye; and in his minute he says, " I received them from Mr. Shore, *who presided so long at the head of the Committee of*
 I " Revenue ;

“ Revenue ; I need not mention with what
 “ honour to himself: the universal testimony
 “ which the voice of the natives, the repeated
 “ approbation of this government, and the
 “ superior esteem of his fellow-servants, bore
 “ to the merits of Mr. Shore, renders it un-
 “ necessary for me to add the praise to which
 “ he was entitled, for his knowledge and in-
 “ tegrity in the administration of the revenue.”

The memorial alluded to, sets out by de-
 scribing the natives of Bengal in the most
 unfavourable terms. “ Individuals, says
 “ Mr. Shore, have little sense of honour ;
 “ and the nation is wholly void of public
 “ virtue. They make not the least scruple
 “ of lying, where falshood is attended with
 “ advantage : yet both Hindoos and Maho-
 “ metans continually speak of their credit
 “ and reputation, by which, they mean little
 “ more than the appearance they make to
 “ the world.”

“ The greatest disgrace they can suffer is,
 “ to lose their cast, or, as we say, to be ex-
 “ communicated. This punishment is in-
 “ flicted for the breach of their religion, or,
 “ what is the same, the ordinances of their
 “ priests. To lie, steal, plunder, ravish, or
 “ murder,

“ murder, are not deemed sufficient crimes
 “ to merit expulsion from society.”

“ To our Government they have little
 “ attachment; *yet it is certain that, in ge-*
 “ *neral, property has been more secure, and*
 “ *individuals less oppressed, than under the*
 “ *despotism of their Nabobs.* I assert this
 “ with all the confidence conviction inspires.”

After so despicable a character of a people whom Mr. Burke has described, as possessing all the arts of polished life, while we were yet in the woods, Mr. Shore very naturally draws that conclusion, which every Gentleman, subscribing to the truth of his premises, will draw, namely, that Englishmen are more worthy of being entrusted with the collection of the revenues than the natives. A point in which I have the presumption to agree with Mr. Shore, against Lord Clive, Mr. Hastings, and many other great authorities. Mr. Shore proceeds, in his memorial, to state his objections to the mode which had been recently adopted for collecting the revenues. The principal objection is, that the Committee cannot get through the load of business entrusted to them; and he adds,
 “ The Committee must have a dewan, or
 “ execu-

“ executive officer, call him by what name
 “ you please. This man, in fact, has all
 “ revenues paid at the Presidency at his
 “ his disposal; and can, if he has any abilities,
 “ bring all the renters under contribution.” He adds, “ The Committee,
 “ with the best intentions, best abilities,
 “ and steadiest application, must, after all, be
 “ a tool in the hands of their Dewan.”

These passages *which Mr. Shore applied to the system*, Mr. Burke, by an artful addition of one word, applied to the person of the Dewan; as he read the extract every person understood, that the Committee could have done without a Dewan, but that Mr. Hastings forced a Dewan upon them, and that Gunga Govind Sing was the man.

Mr. Shore then proceeds to state his plan; the most material part of it was, that English collectors should be stationed in every district. Of Provincial Councils, which Mr. Hastings criminally abolished, if we are to credit Mr. Burke, he spoke most contemptuously. “ The same objections that are
 “ made against the present Committee of
 “ Revenue, *may be applied to the system of*

“ Provincial Councils ; it is sufficient to say
 “ of them, that the universal opinion,
 “ *strengthened by experience*, has pronounced
 “ the system *fundamentally wrong*, and inap-
 “ plicable to any good purpose.

This memorial was written nine months after Mr. Hastings had abolished the Provincial Councils. Whether the opinion of Mr. Shore had been communicated to Mr. Hastings, or whether Mr. Hastings himself discovered some defect in his original plan, certain it is, that it never was carried into complete effect. One part of the system was, to recal every Englishman from the interior parts of the country, except the frontier provinces, and to bring the whole collections to Calcutta, in the same manner as they had been brought to Moorsshedabad, under the administration of Mahomed Reza Cawn.

Mr. Shore's objections to the plan were, that it would throw upon the Committee a load of business which they could not execute, and make their Dewan too powerful. By their Dewan, he meant not to stigmatize Gunga Govind Sing, for his observation applies to all the natives. “ Individuals have
 “ little

“ little sense of honour, and the nation is “ wholly void of public virtue.” Mr. Shore neither proposed to re-establish Provincial Councils, nor to abolish the Committee of Revenue, but to appoint an English collector to each district: at the time he wrote these remarks there were twelve collectors; these were increased, before Mr. Hastings left Bengal, to twenty-one.

The memorial was merely speculative, written in the infancy of a new establishment, which is now improved into a permanent plan, sanctioned by the King’s Ministers, who are responsible for the good government of India, and for the happiness of the natives.

After Mr. Hastings’s plan had been instituted three years, would Mr. Shore have delivered the same opinion? In a memorial, *not meant for the public eye*, he suggested improvements upon a plan recently established. In some instances his ideas were adopted; in others they were not: but the revenues were increased above three hundred and sixty thousand pounds in three years by the new system. Would Mr. Shore have been entitled to the applause of the Bengal Govern-

ment, to the universal good opinion of the natives, and the approbation of all his fellow-servants, had he been, for those three years, a tool, as Mr. Burke described him, in the hands of Gunga Govind Sing? The idea is preposterous and absurd. It is a fact that Mr. Hastings, upon all occasions, supported the Committee in the full exercise of their authority; and Mr. Shore, and Mr. Anderson, would have removed Gunga Govind Sing, if they could have found a better man for the office.

I cannot expect that you should wade through fifty manuscript volumes, in order to discover that the system, which Mr. Hastings established, remains unaltered. But the fact, I assure you, is so. In matters of detail some changes have taken place, and these I will explain to you. If I am wrong, your learned Counsel, and Messrs. Wallis and Troward, who, by Mr. Sheridan's doctrine, are paid from the produce of the Shop Tax, may have the credit of exposing me, and thereby doing something for the National Money.

Mr. Hastings and Mr. Shore quitted Bengal in the same ship, on the 1st of February,

1785.

1785. On the 11th of May following, Mr. Stuart proposed to collect the revenue by a new mode. This was, to add eight or nine collectors to the twenty-one then existing, to place them under the controul of a Member of the Supreme Council. By this arrangement the Committee of Revenue would have been abolished. Mr. Macpherson disapproved this plan, and then entered Mr. Shore's memorial, which had been in his possession *above four years*. Mr. Stables promised to give his opinion upon the plan, but never performed his promise; and the system which Mr. Hastings had established, continued, with twenty-one collectors in the provinces, with Mr. William Cowper, President of the Committee, and Gunga Govind Sing, the Dewan; and, according to Mr. Burke's ideas, the manager of the whole, to whom the Committee were tools.

About this period Mr. Stables proposed to remove Gunga Govind Sing from his office upon general, unspecified charges.—Mr. Macpherson disapproved the motion, unless the Committee would declare they could act without a Dewan, which they affirmed *they could not*—but at the same time

he declared he would not protect the man, *if any act of delinquency could be proved against him.* Gunga Govind Sing continued in office the whole of the year 1785, and until May, 1786, when the orders of the Court of Directors arrived for changing the word "Committee," to the term "Board," and for placing a Member of the Supreme Council at the head of it. Mr. Stables then became the President of the new Board, and Gunga Govind Sing resigned, his official letter of resignation being couched in terms, by no means calculated to conciliate the regard of the new Board. Mr. Stables had described him as a plunderer and an oppressor of thousands; yet the man so described, after having voluntarily quitted an office, that might be supposed to afford him protection, has remained unmolested ever since. The Court of Directors, under the sanction of the Board of Controul, have expressed, in the present year, their disapprobation of that species of general, undefined accusation that had been brought against him.

In the month of September, 1786, Mr. Shore, "that tool of Gunga Govind Sing," returned to Bengal in the honourable and dis-

distinguished station, which, if common fame is to be credited, Mr. Burke had once intended for a relation of his own. Mr. Shore superseded above forty Gentlemen in the Company's service, but he obtained his situation without bribe or intrigue, by the unanimous assent of the Directors and the Board of Controul, because he had distinguished himself so highly, in the management of that system which Mr. Hastings had established, and which Mr. Burke has so ignorantly reprobated. Mr. Shore, who had been at the head of "the Committee" under Mr. Hastings, became now the Head of "the Board" under Earl Cornwallis.—Gunga Govind Sing, who was the Dewan under Mr. Shore, had resigned, and was ill; but his son, under another name, is now, in fact, the executive native officer. There are thirty, instead of twenty-one, English Collectors, who are paid according to Mr. Hastings's idea, by a *per centage* on their collections. And the general administration of the revenues is just the same as it was. I know I am now treading upon tender ground. I know that you carried the revenue article against the sentiments and the votes of Mr. Pitt,

Pitt, and the whole Board of Controul, by a majority of fifteen. I know that you have pronounced it to be one of the heaviest of all the articles, and that you lamented the loss of Mr. Francis, whose province it would have been to make it good. All I shall say, therefore, is, that if we were wrong before, we are wrong now; and if we were right in impeaching Mr. Hastings for adopting a bad system, surely we are wrong in not impeaching those who continue it. Mr. Hastings may have been wrong from want of ability to be right; but the King's Ministers sin with their eyes open, that is, they act in direct contradiction to the solemn opinions which the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses, in Parliament assembled, have carried into Westminster Hall.

Another year has now passed over, and we have every additional information which can be brought from every part of Indostan and Deccan. Permit me, Mr. Fox, before I conclude, to state a few strong and stubborn facts for your serious consideration. Your ability to comprehend any subject to which you choose to apply yourself, all the world must acknowledge—but when you presented your

your two celebrated India Bills, I do affirm, that you did not understand your subject. Can I suppose that you would have admitted clauses in those bills, by which, in order to carry them into effect, you must have borrowed the enormous sum of thirty-five million sterling?—Absurd, and ridiculous, as it may appear, the assertion is strictly true, to the full extent that I have stated. I have no idea of the policy of enacting a law, *which cannot be obeyed*. If any other Minister had proposed such a law, you would justly have accused him of making the British nation contemptible in the eyes of all Europe. Your Bill enacted, that Earl Fitzwilliam, and his Directors, were, as speedily as may be, to enquire into every breach of treaty, injury, or grievance, committed against any Prince in India, either complained of, *or coming to their knowledge*, and to do *complete justice* on every *material article*, and *not upon the whole in gross*.

The strict, and, indeed, the only meaning which can be drawn from this clause, is, that if the Emperor Shaw Allum, Cheyt Sing, the Begums, and the Nabob of Bengal, had been injured, they were to receive *complete justice*

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on every *material article*, and not upon the whole in gross.

I, who contend that they have not been injured, can receive my dividend every six months with a quiet conscience—but you, and your friends, have ever professed a different opinion; and Mr. Burke has entered upon our Journals one of the most extraordinary concessions that ever was made by a subject of Great Britain, namely, “ That
 “ the East India Company having, on their
 “ part, violated the engagements, and re-
 “ nounced the conditions in which they
 “ received, and have hitherto held and en-
 “ joyed the Dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and
 “ Orixá, from the King, Shaw Allum, have
 “ thereby *forfeited all right and title to the*
 “ *said Dewanny*, arising from the said grant,
 “ and that it is free and open to the said
 “ King to resume such grant, *and to transfer*
 “ *it to any other prince or state.*” Is it possible to read this most curious passage without saying with Doctor Johnson, “ To
 “ be prejudiced is always to be weak; yet
 “ there are prejudices so near to laudable,
 “ that they have often been praised, and are
 “ always pardonable. To love their country
 “ has

“ has been considered as virtue in men, whose
 “ love could not be otherwise than blind,
 “ because their preference was made without
 “ comparison; but it has never been my
 “ fortune to find, either in ancient or mo-
 “ dern writers, any honourable mention of
 “ those who have, with equal blindness,
 “ hated their country.”

If Mr. Burke's assertions were true, no language could be strong enough to describe the infamy of Lord North, and every succeeding Minister. To say that the East India Company have done this, or that they have neglected to do that since the year 1772, is to attempt an imposition too gross for a Gentleman to countenance. Mr. Hastings stopped the payment of the Mogul's tribute *pro tempore*; and the Mogul sent an Ambassador to England, to remonstrate, whom Lord North declined to receive in that character. Will it be said that his Lordship was not privy to the order transmitted to Bengal, in 1775, to forbid the future payment of the Mogul's tribute? Was a single dispatch of importance sent to India from the date of the Regulating Act, without receiving the previous sanction of Administration? It will

be established, by positive proof, that there was not.

A great empire was acquired by his Majesty's subjects, the servants of a Commercial Company. The immense importance of this empire was not thoroughly understood for a few years, or if understood, Administration thought they did enough by accepting four hundred thousand pounds annually, and leaving the entire management to the Gentlemen in Leadenhall-street. But in the year 1773, Parliament instituted a Committee of Secrecy, and appointed men of business, and character, to be Members of it. From the Reports of that Committee (I do not mean General Burgoyne's) the real state of the East India Company, both at home and abroad, became perfectly known in Great Britain.

The Minister, with every source of information open to him, recommended to Parliament, to violate, to a certain extent, the Charter of the Company, and to establish a new government in Bengal. The degree of controul that he deemed necessary, he took, and I have a right to assume, that he found that controul efficient for all the purposes of good government, since he never applied for any further powers during

during the continuance of that act. He had, if I may say, double, nay treble, information of every transaction in Bengal. He was in constant intercourse with the Chairman of the Company; he saw the public dispatches; and Mr. Hastings regularly corresponded with him to the close of the year 1778. You have stated, and very fairly, Lord North's influence at the India House, as a matter, not of suspicion, but of undoubted truth. Once, indeed, it is known, that he did make an exertion for the removal of Mr. Hastings, but it cannot be supposed he was very hearty in the cause, since at that period (in 1775) he might have effected, by a bill, what your whig friends, then the protectors of Mr. Hastings, prevented him from effecting in Leadenhall-street.

In 1778-9, on the expiration of the first regulating act, Lord North moved its renewal, without a single alteration, for one year. In 1779-80 for another. And in 1780-81, he brought in a new Regulating act, to continue in force for ten years, leaving Mr. Hastings the Governor General of Bengal, and giving the King's Ministers a more direct and avowed interference in the government

ment of India. Under these several acts, I think too highly of Lord North, to suppose he will pretend that he is not responsible for the systems that were established in India, since he possessed every possible means of information, and Parliament adopted all his ideas. I contend also that his Lordship sagaciously foresaw the immense importance of India to Great Britain, and that he is entitled to our warmest thanks for the prodigious exertions which were made during his administration for its preservation, at a time when we were torn to pieces by contending factions at home, and surrounded by enemies in every quarter of the globe. We met the combined powers of France and Holland, in the eastern ocean, with seventeen sail of the line, a superior force to any they could send out—and we foiled them in every endeavour to make an impression upon us by land. We had fortresses and towns belonging to them in our possession when peace was concluded, which, by ceding, preserved the West Indies; and although Lord Camden's assertion should be true, that "Mr. Hastings was the soul of our success in India," Lord North merits every praise that we can bestow upon him,

him, for detaching so powerful a land and naval force for our assistance, during the late war.

To Lord North succeeded the Marquis of Rockingham. In his administration a hasty resolution was moved by Mr. Dundas, which he has lived to repent of, or, at least, as he tells us himself, to express his satisfaction that it was not carried into execution. To us, who were not in the secret, it did appear extraordinary, that, at the most critical moment of the most arduous war in which this country was ever engaged, it should be proposed to recal Mr. Hastings, through the medium of a resolution of the House of Commons, without any plan having been formed, for establishing a new government. If the measure had been deemed necessary, the King's Ministers, who had a majority in both Houses, might have done that by a bill, which, in the form of a recommendation, or command, the East India Company had a right to resist.

In the next administration, it was intended to invest Earl Cornwallis with powers similar to those which he now enjoys. Your junction with Lord North put an end to the plan,

plan, and to the Ministry, but not to the responsibility of the Minister for any thing that was done, or omitted, relative to India.

From April, to November, 1783, in the Coalition æra, you permitted Mr. Hastings to remain as the Governor General. Even his application for a successor was unattended to. Ministers were virtually as much responsible for the government of India before your bill was read, as they would have been had it passed. That bill attached to responsibility every species of patronage, and you have honestly contended, at all times, that they ought to go together.

Mr. Pitt's Bill has proclaimed the responsibility of Government to the world, while it leaves the patronage, as much as possible, to the Company. It was to remedy all evils existing in the government of India, and it was passed above four years ago. I think it has been observed, that, under the former laws, Ministers might have acted if they pleased. Under the present, their responsibility is direct and unequivocal.

Admitting, for the sake of argument, either that former Ministers were not responsible to the extent I have stated, or that being
respon-

responsible they neglected their duty; allow me as a matter of history, not of accusation, or exculpation, to state what the efficient, active controul of this day has done, as to the government of India. Upon this subject, I should be a madman indeed if I said one word before I had resorted to every possible means of information.

There are now no India secrets: Mr. Burke need not be under those apprehensions with which his mind was filled in the year 1785, when he predicted that Mr. Dundas would so effectually choak up every channel of information, that the liberal curiosity of an English Gentleman would no longer be gratified.

Mr. Burke, and myself, as a matter of course, have a licence to peruse the records at the India House. With this permission I have carefully read every order that has been sent to Bengal since the establishment of the Board of Controul, and every letter and consultation that has been received from that country, but I have not been able to trace any thing like a command to alter that system which Mr. Hastings had adopted.— I find a recommendation to Lord Cornwallis, to adopt the measure of letting the lands of

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Bengal

Bengal on a ten year's lease, and to zemindars, in every practicable instance. To let lands in long leases, and in preference to Zemindars, had many years ago been recommended from Bengal, but hitherto that government has been unable to adopt it. As to our foreign connections, his Lordship has been left to form his own arrangements unclogged by positive orders : and by stating the actual situation of Bengal and its dependencies in the month of March last, I shall prove to you that the King's Ministers approve of that system which we have pronounced in Westminster-hall, to be defective and iniquitous. I shall commence my review at the source of the Ganges, and finish it where that little stream becomes an ocean.

Fyzoola Cawn continues to enjoy the most perfect tranquility and independence under the protection of that engagement which was concluded with him, through the mediation of Mr. Hastings, in February, 1783. An engagement absolutely necessary, in order to explain the most unintelligible public treaty that ever was signed.

Muzuffer Jung, the miserable Nabob of Furruckabad, whose sufferings were so feelingly related by Mr. Pelham, is at Furruckabad ;

abad ; and Lord Cornwallis has carried literally into execution, the reprobated fourth article of the treaty of Chunar, which left him, as we were told, at the mercy of Hyder Beg Khan.

The Begums, old as they are, are still alive ; they have acquiesced in their son's choice of Hyder Beg Khan, to whom they are now perfectly reconciled : and they were living, with their accustomed magnificence at Fyzabad, secluded from the sight of men, as usual, but not enshrined ; they have armies in their pay, and treasures at their command.

In the final arrangement which Earl Cornwallis has lately formed with the Nabob Vizier, his Lordship has said, that it was his object to conform to the principle laid down by Mr. Hastings, and approved by the Board of Controul. He has stationed an additional military force in the Vizier's dominions, and increased the power of Hyder Beg Khan, in direct contradiction to every thing contained in thirteen of our articles. I call them our's *, because I believe, in
my

* As the relation of a matter of fact, relative to these articles, has given rise to a public prosecution, some apo-

my conscience, Mr. Burke and myself are the only two Members who read them

logy may be due from me before I again presume to state the case. For many years past, the speeches of the Members of both Houses have been published, with a degree of accuracy, which does infinite credit to Mr. Woodfall—and in some instances Members have published, and avowed the publication of their own speeches. Mr. Burke has printed those Philippics which were so admirably calculated to encourage the Americans, in their rebellion, at the commencement of the late unfortunate war. He printed that celebrated speech which preceded his Reform Bill, although the world have since seen that the Speech, and the Bill, were equally farcical, since, with *carte blanche*, as to reform, Mr. Burke, in fact, did nothing. His several speeches on the subject of India have also been printed. Mr. Fox, averse, perhaps, to the trouble of writing what he had once spoken, has left it to his supporters to do justice to his arguments; but the fact undoubtedly is, that from the year 1774, to the present day, the public is in possession of a very accurate parliamentary history. Could I then have supposed, that after all our parliamentary proceedings had been publicly printed, it should have been deemed a crime in a printer, to publish, in a pamphlet, what I have, in the most public manner, affirmed to be true? The mode in which these articles passed struck me then, and strikes me now, as so perfectly new, that not any thing similar to it will be found in British history. The impression which the fact made upon my mind at the time, still remains. My sentiments I delivered in the most public manner, *in my place* (as Mr. Sheridan says) *in the House of Commons*,
and

them before they passed. In those articles
Hyder

and I trust I may reprint them now, with as much impunity as Mr. Sheridan reprinted his Comparative View of the Bills of Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt. That the articles could not have passed, had they been read, I am morally certain.

Mr. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Grenville, must have opposed them, for they have in the most unqualified terms, done justice to the merits of Earl Cornwallis. Mr. Hastings placed a certain degree of power in the hands of Hyder Beg Khan, the Minister of the Nabob of Oude. This man, in these articles, is termed an implacable tyrant; and to vest him with so much power, we have voted to be highly criminal. Yet Earl Cornwallis, as the King's Ministers well know, has added considerably to the power which Hyder Beg possessed, when his Lordship arrived in Bengal. Viewing as I did, and still do, the whole proceedings relative to these articles, I think myself justified in now reprinting what I said of the transaction at the time.

May 28, 1787, a motion being made, that the engrossed Articles of Impeachment against Warren Hastings, No. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, be carried to the Bar of the House of Lords by Mr. Burke,

Major Scott said, I hope, Mr. Speaker, the House will have the indulgence to hear me for a few minutes upon the subject now under consideration. Last year the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Burke) brought before this House a number of charges, or articles, against Mr. Hastings; one of this number was intitled, Misdemeanors in Oude; in this session several days were appointed for taking the article into consideration, and upon one pretence or other
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Hyder Beg Khan is described as the most wicked and flagitious of men.

Benares

the day was put off; but about ten days ago it was the subject of debate. I opposed the Charge in the Committee of the whole House, as very nonsensical, and containing matter highly meritorious, instead of being criminal. It was however determined, without a division, that the Charge, entitled Misdemeanors in Oude, contained impeachable matter; and it was referred to the Committee appointed to draw up the Articles of Impeachment, in order that they might, from that Charge, form an article. On Friday last these articles were brought up, for instead of being one article, they are thirteen. I saw them, and they took me an hour and a half to read, even in a cursory manner; but I am sure no other Member of the House saw them on that day. They were read, *pro forma*, and ordered to be printed, when the House was on the point of rising on Friday, and when no Gentleman seemed disposed to listen to a word upon the subject of them. I came down to this House on Saturday for a copy of the articles, but it was necessary to keep them here till the engrossed articles were examined, so that, in fact, they did not go to press until Saturday noon; and this day, at one o'clock, such Members as happened, accidentally, to be down at so early an hour, had an opportunity of getting them. The case, therefore, is this, that the Commons of Great Britain are at this instant about to proceed to the most solemn act which they can execute, without knowing one word about the matter;—for I will venture to assert, that not ten Members of this House have read the articles; and I firmly believe, that no Member, in or out of the House, has

Benares remains, as Mr. Hastings left it, the most populous, and flourishing, and the richest

has read these articles, except the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Burke) and myself, and I have only had an opportunity of reading them over cursorily. If it is decent and proper that the Commons of England, after voting an impeachment, should be perfectly indifferent as to what articles are sent up, I have no more to say; but if it is of importance that we should know what it is we send to the Lords, I hope Gentlemen will read the articles which I hold in my hand; if they do, I am sure they will never dignify such nonsense, so far as to say solemnly, at the Bar of the House of Lords, that the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in behalf of themselves and the Commons of England, present such trash, as Articles of Impeachment; but in every point of view the proceeding is absurd and ridiculous. I am now told, that I ought to have made my opposition on Friday, that in fact the articles were then passed, and the present question is only who shall carry them up. If that is indeed the question, I am indifferent about it.—But what, in the name of God then did we mean by ordering these articles to be printed? If the Commons of Great Britain passed these Articles on Friday, without one man reading them, why are they printed now? Is it that we may discover the absurdities in them, when we cannot apply a remedy? I have done my duty, Mr. Speaker; I think the whole business is disgraceful and dishonourable to the House, and I have opposed it; I was against these articles at the only moment in which I had a chance of being heard; but if the articles are really passed, I say the House has been betrayed into
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richest city in Indostan. Ali Ibrahim Cawn fills, with dignity, the office of Chief Magistrate—the complete revenue is paid, no balances remain, nor are any apprehensions expressed, as to the future collections. Courts of Justice are established at Mirzapore and Ghazepore, and an additional revenue, beyond the forty lacks, is secured for the Company, by our public assumption of the monopoly of opium. The revenues of Bengal, whether arising from land, salt, or opium, are collected precisely as heretofore: in some instances zemindars, in others farmers, rent the lands: but those high and extravagant ideas of the rights of zemindars, which Mr. Burke and Mr. Francis have maintained, are now universally exploded. Mr. Boughton

the passing of articles, which I believe, in my conscience, no Member has read but myself, and I have only read them cursorily; but I am sure there are not ten Members who have, or, indeed, could have read a line of them. Yet, in defiance of truth and common sense, we pass them with less form than we would a Turnpike Bill, and we solemnly say, at the Bar of the House of Lords, that they are Articles of Impeachment against Warren Hastings, Esq; by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled. If this House think such a proceeding consistent with its dignity, let it pass in the name of God, I will not divide the House upon it.

Rouse's more temperate statement of zemindary tenures, however it may differ from opinions he formerly delivered, and although it drew upon him the eloquence and indignation of Mr. Burke, seems the most accurate that has appeared before the public. But even this account has been controverted by a Gentleman, whose official duty it was to procure the best possible information of the rights of zemindars. Mr. James Grant has completed an analysis of the revenues of Bengal, in his capacity of Sheristadar, to which office he was appointed by Sir John Macpherson. It is a work of great labour, and has all the appearance of accuracy. I have not the presumption to give an opinion upon a point that has divided the principal revenue servants of the Company for so many years, though I think myself, at least, as able to decide as either Mr. Burke or Mr. Francis: but if Mr. Grant is correct, the lands in Bengal, as throughout Indostan, are the property of the sovereign, and zemindars (as Mr. Verelst long ago defined them) are officers appointed by Government, for the collection of the revenues. Mr. Grant states the loss of revenue to the Company at one million annually, since the year 1765, in consequence

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sequence of collusions between Mahomed Reza Cawn, and the zemindars of Bengal.

After a very laborious examination of all the public papers sent to, or received from Bengal, I can pronounce, with confidence, that under the acknowledged responsibility of his Majesty's Ministers, nothing has been done, which bears the semblance of an alteration in *that system* which Mr. Hastings had established. Œconomical arrangements most certainly followed the restoration of peace. Salaries have been diminished. In mere matters of detail, some changes have taken place, *but in system, none*. I have attended, as I may say, *arctis auribus*, to Mr. Dundas's India Budgets, as well from motives of curiosity, after what has happened, as for instruction, I found that he took credit for every rupee that Bengal could yield. No expression dropped from him which implied even a wish to diminish the collections, either in Bengal or Benares, to lessen the Vizier's revenue, or to relieve the Mogul, though, in 1782, he was the mover of a resolution, which implied that relief ought to be given to him; but as soon as he became the Minister of India, he saw the difference between theory and practice.

Although

Although the unappropriated surplus in Bengal far exceeds the sum which I took credit for in my most sanguine moments, yet sorry am I to say, that Mr. Dundas will want every rupee of it, for his next budget, in order to provide for the deficiencies, and the enormous peace establishments of Madras and Bombay.

To assertions daring and unfounded, I oppose strong and pointed facts; and I refer you, upon all occasions, to public and authentic documents, in proof of every word that I have written. By consulting them, you may discover also the following very remarkable circumstance, which must strike every impartial person as peculiar to Bengal. The revenues of Bengal and Bahar arise chiefly from the rents of lands; and the variation of those rents, in fifteen years, though collected from ten millions of people, does not equal that difference which, in proportion to the amount, the Duke of Devonshire, or any other man of large landed property, experiences in the collection of his rents, from the casualties to which the estate of every Gentleman in England is liable,

The amount of the revenue of the most productive year was two hundred sixty-three,

and of the lowest year two hundred forty-one lacks ; but in some years the difference, in the collection of near three millions sterling, was not more than ten thousand pounds.

If we draw our conclusions from facts, it must be allowed, that we have at last fixed upon the most beneficial mode of collecting the revenues. Under the Provincial Councils they gradually fell, from two hundred fifty-three, to two hundred forty-one lacks. In the first year of the present system, when Bengal was surrounded with difficulties, they were raised to two hundred sixty-two lacks ; and as a positive proof that this was not a delusion, nor an oppressive strain upon the country, it is only necessary to state, that the year after Mr. Hastings quitted Bengal, they were at the same amount, independent entirely of salt and opium, both of his creation, and producing above six hundred thousand pounds a year.

If you could allow your reason to operate in the discussion of a subject, on which the credit of your party has been staked, you would reject, with indignation, the ridiculous tales you have heard, relative to the state of Bengal and its dependencies.

In

In the course of my reading, I have met with a rhapsody almost as absurd as Mr. Burke's.—It is Colonel Dow's account of Bengal, in the third volume of his History. It was written in 1772, at a time when the Colonel was as much the enemy of Mahomed Reza Cawn, as Mr. Burke appears now to be the enemy of Gunga Govind, or Deby Sing.

An Englishman's blood curdles in his veins when he reads the following account of the cruelties exercised by Mahomed Reza Cawn, and his Persian adherents, upon the natives of Bengal. “Year after year brought
 “ new tyrants, or confirmed the old in the
 “ practice of their former oppression. The
 “ tenants being at length ruined, the farmers were unable to make good their contract with government. Their cruelties
 “ to their inferiors recoiled at length on
 “ themselves. Many of them were bound
 “ to stakes and whipped, but their poverty
 “ ceased to be feigned. Their complaints
 “ were heard in every square of Moorsheda-
 “ bad, *and not a few of them expired in agonies under the lash.*” Had Col. Dow's description been true, Bengal, at this moment,
 must

must have been depopulated, for he represented it as totally ruined in the year 1770. His means of information were much superior to Mr. Burke's, yet the sober and calm voice of truth and reason has determined, that his account was totally unfounded in fact; Mahomed Reza Cawn is now generally deemed an honest man, and instead of possessing the millions which Mr. Dow bestowed upon him, he is supposed to have retired from the management of a great kingdom, and from the receipt of a salary of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year, with a fortune not so great as some Clerks in office accumulated under the late Lord Holland.

An account similar to that which Colonel Dow published in 1772, Colonel Fullarton gave to the world in 1787, and Mr. Burke improved upon both in 1788. Colonel Fullarton's authority has great weight with me when he speaks of countries in which he resided, or of military operations which he conducted—but when he gives so miserable a description of one of the finest countries upon earth, which I have lived in for many years, and which he never saw, I cannot but lament

lament that he should have been so grossly imposed upon by those who furnished him with his Bengal materials.

Colonel Dow's publication in 1772, had probably considerable influence with the Court of Directors. Information transmitted to your friend Mr. Gregory, and by him laid before them, completed the delusion; and orders were sent to Mr. Hastings, to arrest the person of Mahomed Reza Cawn, and to bring him to a trial in Calcutta, for his alledged cruelties, oppressions, and rapacity. His prosecutor, Nundcomar, had every fair support allowed to him. The current was strong against Mahomed Reza Cawn, but the infamy of his prosecutor very early appeared. No relation, no friend of those men *who expired under the lash, in the squares of Moorshedabad*, demanded justice upon a murderer. The facts never had existence, and Mahomed Reza Cawn was acquitted.

Another consequence resulted from the informations transmitted to Mr. Gregory. It was believed that Mahomed Reza Cawn, by a collusion with the zemindars, had secreted, from the knowledge of the Company,
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the true value of the lands ; and as a mode of discovering the deception, it was recommended to adopt the farming system, a measure falsely imputed to Mr. Hastings, though it had taken place, in a great variety of instances, before his arrival, and throughout all Burdwan, the most flourishing province in Bengal, where the farmers were, in general, Calcutta banyans. Mr. Burke, I believe, is the only man in this kingdom, after the very accurate information which has been obtained on the nature of zemindary tenures, who will persist in affirming, that the nobility and gentry of a whole kingdom were put up to auction in the year 1772.

As there is a very extraordinary similitude in the crimes of which Mahomed Reza Cawn, and Gunga Govind Sing, were accused ; there is also something very similar in the fate of each.

The latter is described by Mr. Burke as a man, “ at the sound of whose name all
 “ India grows pale ; the most wicked, the
 “ most atrocious, the boldest and most detestable
 “ villain, ever that country produced.”
 He adds, “ there never was a friend, there
 “ never was a foe, there never was a human
 “ being,

“ being, that ever differed in their opinion
 “ of Gunga Govind Sing.” Colonel Dow
 distinguished the former by epithets as harsh,
 if we allow for the constitutional violence
 of Mr. Burke, and the mildness of the
 Colonel’s manner and temper.

The Mussulman, as well as the Hindoo,
 possessed great power and influence. Both
 were represented as the second persons in a
 great kingdom, if not the first.

The Mahometan was brought to a public
 trial, on specific and strong charges ; he was
 honourably acquitted, and that acquittal was
 confirmed by the Court of Directors.

The Hindoo, “ at the sound of whose name
 “ all India grew pale,” has been honourably
 acquitted, of the only accusation brought
 against him, and resides in perfect security in
 Calcutta, without a dread of public or private
 vengeance. Yet he received no protection
 from Sir John Macpherson, or Mr. Stables,
 or Mr. Stuart. Neither Earl Cornwallis, nor
 Mr. Shore, protect him. Nor has Lord Corn-
 wallis, in any one instance, rejected the com-
 plaints of the natives.

The argument which I used in the House
 of Commons, operates now with ten times

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more

more force than it did at the time I used it. Possibly I may agree with Mr. Shore, that individuals, in Bengal, either Hindoos or Mahometans, have little sense of honour, and as a nation, are wholly void of public virtue; though I may not go so far as another Gentleman, who has been praised by the Board of Controul. Mr. Grant has affirmed, “ that if the best amongst the natives were
 “ to be tried by our notions of morality, he
 “ would experience the fate of Nundcomar,
 “ the worst of his tribe.” I may think as despicably of the natives of Bengal, as I have done of a modern patriot since the year 1783, without subscribing to the monstrous character that Mr. Burke has given of Gunga Govind Sing. It is not possible that proofs of his iniquity should be wanting, were he deserving of the abuse Mr. Burke has bestowed upon him. Such a villain could not have continued in office, not only while Mr. Hastings was in India, but sixteen months after his departure. No Member of the Committee would have acted with him. Such a man would not have ventured an appeal to the laws, or to meet, as he did successfully, the only accusation that was

preferred against him. The King's Ministers have very properly expressed their disapprobation of that sort of general, unspecified charge, which appeared in the minutes of Mr. Stables and Mr. Mackenzie against Gunga Govind Sing. Nothing specific has even yet been produced to affect a man, "at the sound of whose name, all India grows pale." Have I not therefore a right to set at nought this species of abuse?

I will proceed to examine his conduct in another, and a more material point of view. Has he defrauded the East India Company? If it be true that he was the second person in the Government, if not the first, and that Mr. Shore was a tool in his hands, let us examine what use he made of his power, by comparing the collections during the five years of his management, with those of the five preceding years. The following accurate statement of them has been presented, by the East India Company, to the House of Commons.

Provincial Councils.	Committee of Revs.
1776-7 250.16.373	1781-2 262. 4 863
1777-8 245.08.978	1782-3 254.38.977
1778-9 249.61.565	1783-4 257.72.201
1779-80 247.68.185	1784-5 259.64.971
1780-81 241.07.233	1785-6 263.62.262

This account proves, that the gross collections, in the last period, exceeded those of the former by the sum of six hundred thousand pounds sterling. I know not, I protest, any other criterion by which the merits of this man can be determined. If the gross collections in Bengal were higher under the system in which he professedly bore so great a share; if no complaints have been preferred against him in three years after he was deprived of every species of protection, and an obnoxious man; if Deby Sing, who has been accused of oppression, was appointed to a responsible office against the remonstrances of Gunga Govind Sing, who employed every means in his power to prevent that appointment; and if it be true, as Sir John Macpherson, has asserted, that the natives of Bengal are the happiest and best protected people through-

throughout Indostan, we must look upon Mr. Burke's description of the man, "at the sound of whose name all India grows pale, &c." to be the mere rant of an orator, as unfounded as Colonel Dow's account of Mahomed Reza Cawn's cruelties in the squares of Moorshedabad.

There is a certain species of general abuse which it is incumbent upon every honest man to reprobate, and to guard his mind against those impressions which it is too apt to make. There was a time, when a noble relation of your own was held out to the people of England as the public defaulter of unaccounted millions, and in that light he was represented to the sovereign, by the city of London. But now, when parties have been so jumbled together, that the voice of truth can prevail, it appears clear, that the abuse was in the system, not in the noble Lord, who was appointed to execute it. His predecessors, and his successors, in the same office, acted as he did, with few exceptions: and although the advantages annexed to offices in Bengal, sink to nothing, in comparison with the emoluments which Lord Holland enjoyed for so many years after he
quitted

quitted his office, the man will reason very unfairly, who imputes that blame to him, which is justly due to those who were in trust for the public, at the time.

I most cordially agree with Mr. Burke in one proposition, "that there never was a bad man who had abilities for good service." I hope we shall also agree in our definition of a bad man. In the first place, he who lives in open violation of every law, human and divine, in the practice of every vice to which human frailty is subject, hypocrisy excepted, must be "a bad man, and cannot have abilities for good service."

A man who without a shilling of visible property upon earth, enjoys, not only the necessities, but all the luxuries of life; who, with a heart callous and unfeeling, can behold the distress of a tradesman, to whom he is indebted, while his own person is secure from imprisonment, must be "a bad man, and cannot have abilities for good service."

A man, who shall be associated with gamblers in the stocks, who shall receive his share of the emoluments arising from that species of gambling, and shall refuse to be responsible

ble for his losses, " must be a bad man, and
 " cannot have abilities for good service."

A man who will feelingly lament the supposed miseries of those who are removed from him above half the circumference of the globe, while he shall be utterly insensible to the actual distress with which he is surrounded in Great Britain, and may, in part, have occasioned ; who, while he talks of public, is utterly regardless of private faith ; who makes engagements that he never executes ; who lives upon the orphan's substance, and laughs at the remonstrances of the widow, must be " a bad man, and cannot have abilities for " good service;" but modern patriotism differs very much from that of better days. A patriot of 1788 wanders to the banks of the Ganges, not for the purpose of relieving real, but in order to describe imaginary distresses ; but the genuine patriot, the man of real feeling, will first relieve the miseries to which he is an eye-witness, and in due gradation he will reach Bengal.

" Friends, parents, kindred, first he will embrace,

" His country next, and next all human race."

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The man who having the lead in a great public and criminal prosecution, shall dare to suppress any evidence which tends to the elucidation of truth, although that elucidation should cover him with shame and confusion, who shall presume to affirm what he knows to be false in some instances, and in others unblushingly to state as facts what were only accusations, the falshood of which, upon enquiry, he might have known, must be "a bad man, and cannot have abilities for good service."

Whether such characters do exist in this great city, or whether they are merely the creatures of my own imagination, the voice of the public will determine.

I have the honour to be,

S I R,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

JOHN SCOTT.

*Margate, 10th
September, 1788.*

L E T T E R

TO THE RIGHT HON.

FREDERICK MONTAGU.

MY DEAR SIR,

WITH the consent, as you know, and the approbation of the Committee, I am resolved to persevere in the resolution I had formed and had declared to the House, that nothing should persuade me, upon any occasion, least of all upon the present occasion, to enter into a laboured, litigious, artificial defence of my conduct. Such a mode of defence belongs to another sort of conduct, and to causes of a different description.

As a faithful and ingenuous servant, I owe to the House a plain and simple explanation of any part of my behaviour which shall be called in question before them. I have given this explanation, and in doing so I have done every thing which my own honour and my duty to the House could possibly require at

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my hands. The rest belongs to the House. They, I have no doubt, will act in a manner fit for a wise body, attentive to its reputation. I must be supposed to know something of the duty of a prosecutor for the public ; otherwise, neither ought the House to have conferred that trust upon me, nor ought I to have accepted it. I have not been disapproved by the first abilities in the kingdom, appointed by the same authority, not only for my assistance, but for my direction and controul. You, who have honoured me with a partial friendship, continued without interruption for twenty-four years, would not have failed in giving me that first and most decisive proof of friendship, to enlighten my ignorance and to rectify my mistakes. You have not done either ; and I must act on the inference. It is no compliment to mention what is known to the world, how well qualified you are for that office, from your deep parliamentary knowledge and your perfect acquaintance with all the eminent examples of the ancient and the modern world.

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The House having, upon an opinion of my diligence and fidelity, (for they could have no other motive) put a great trust into my hands, ought to give me an entire credit for the veracity of every fact I affirm or deny. But if they fail with regard to me, it is at least in my power to be true to myself. I will not commit myself in an unbecoming contention with the Agents of a Criminal, whom it is my duty to bring to justice. I am a Member of a Committee of Secrecy, and I will not violate my trust, by turning myself into a Defendant, and bringing forward, in my own exculpation, the evidence which I have prepared for his conviction. I will not let him know who the witnesses for the prosecution are, nor what they have to depose against him. Though I have no sort of doubt of the constancy and integrity of those witnesses, yet because they are men, and men to whom, from my situation, I owe protection, I ought not to expose them either to temptation or to danger. I will not hold them out to be importuned, or menaced, or discredited, or run down, or possibly to be ruined in their fortunes by the power and

influence of this delinquent ; except where the national service supercedes all other considerations. If I must suffer, I will suffer alone. No man shall fall a sacrifice to a feeble sensibility on my part, that at this time of day might make me impatient of those libels, which by despising through so many years, I have at length obtained the honour of being joined in commission with this Committee, and of becoming an humble instrument in the hands of public justice.

The only favour I have to supplicate from the House is, that their goodness would spare to the weakest of their Members any unnecessary labour ; by letting me know as speedily as possible, whether they wish to discharge me from my present office. If they do not, I solemnly promise them, that, with God's assistance, I will, as a Member of their Committee, pursue their business to the end : that no momentary disfavour shall slacken my diligence in the great cause they have undertaken ; that I will lay open, with the force of irresistible proof, this dark scene of Bribery, Peculation and gross pecuniary Corruption, which I have begun to unfold, and
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in the midst of which my course has been arrested.

This poor Indian stratagem, of turning the Accuser into a Defendant, has been too often and too uniformly practised by Deby Sing, Mr. Hastings, and Gunga Govind Sing, and other Banyans, black and white, to have any longer the slightest effect upon me, whom long service in Indian Committees has made well acquainted with the politics of Calcutta. If the House will suffer me to go on, the moment is at hand when my defence, and included in it the defence of the House, will be made in the only way in which my trust permits me to make it, by proving juridically on this Accusing Criminal the facts and the guilt which we have charged upon him. As to the relevancy of the facts, the Committee of Impeachment must be the sole judge, until they are handed over to the Court competent to give a final decision on their value. In that Court, the Agent of Mr. Hastings will soon enough be called upon to give his own testimony with regard to the conduct of his Principal: the Agent shall not escape from the necessity of delivering

delivering it; nor will the Principal escape from the testimony of his Agent.

I hope I have in no moment of this pursuit (now by me continued, in one shape or other, for near eight years) shewn the smallest symptom of Collusion, or Prevarication. The last point, in which I should wish to shew it, is in this Charge, concerning pecuniary Corruption,—a corruption so great and so spreading, that the most unspotted characters will be justified in taking measures for guarding themselves against suspicion. Neither hope, nor fear, nor anger, nor weariness, nor discouragement of any kind, shall move me from this trust.—Nothing, but an act of the House, formally taking away my commission, or totally cutting off the means of performing it. I trust we are all of us as animated by the same sentiment.

This perseverance in us, may be called obstinacy inspired by malice. Not one of us, however, has a cause of malice. What knowledge have we of Sir Elijah Impey, with whom, you know, we began; or of Mr. Hastings, whom we afterwards found in our way? Party views cannot be our motive.—

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Is it not notorious, that, if we thought it consistent with our duty, we might have at least an equal share of the Indian interest, which now is almost to a man against us?

I am sure I reverence the House as a Member of Parliament and an Englishman ought to do; and shall submit to its decision with due humility. I have given this apology for abandoning a formal defence, in writing to you, though it contains in effect not much more than I have delivered in my place. But this mode is less liable to misrepresentation, and a trifle more permanent. It will remain with you either for my future acquittal or condemnation, as I shall behave.

I am,

With sincere affection and respect,

My dear SIR,

Your faithful friend and humble servant,

EDMUND BURKE.

Gerrard-street,

May 1, 1789.

(TRUE COPY.)

SIR,

Mr. Burke's motive for publishing the letter which Mr. Montagu read in the House of Commons, ought to be, to enable those Gentlemen who differed with him to enter into a fair discussion of its contents.

Some of the assertions of the letter are of so very extraordinary a nature, that I should have been sorry indeed, if so fair an opportunity had not been given to me of meeting them with a most direct and unequivocal contradiction. Mr. Burke says, that the House having, upon an opinion of his diligence and fidelity, put a great trust into his hands, *ought to give him an entire credit for the veracity of every fact that he affirms or denies.* Never was there, I believe, so monstrous a proposition, *and the vote of the House has proved already the fallacy and the absurdity of it.* If it were true, observe what a dilemma Mr. Burke would involve the House in. We have had two India Budgets since
this

this Impeachment began. In each year the India Minister has dwelt with peculiar force and emphasis, upon the mildness, the justice, and the excellency of the Government of Great-Britain in Bengal, has explained the situation of its foreign connections and dependencies, and has last year taken credit from the aggregate of the resources of Bengal, of a surplus, after the payment of all its expences, of two millions sterling. The House has heard these statements with great satisfaction, and has voted those resolutions which Mr. Dundas moved. Could the House have done so, had they believed Mr. Burke? No; for, in contradiction to every man's declaration who has any means of information, Mr. Burke obstinately persists in painting to the world, in the name of the Commons of Great-Britain, the miserable, distressed, depopulated, and ruined state of Bengal, Benares, and Oude. I affirm, therefore, that the House has not, cannot, and ought not to give entire credit to Mr. Burke, for the veracity of every fact that he affirms or denies.

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In another paragraph, he says, that the Committee must be the sole judges of the relevancy of the facts, till the competent Court finally decides, and he adds, " In that Court the Agent of Mr. Hastings will soon enough be called upon to give his own testimony with regard to the conduct of his principal. The Agent shall not escape from the necessity of delivering it, nor will the Principal escape from the testimony of his Agent."

In this passage *I know* Mr. Burke is not serious, nor will the world believe him, because every man of common sense knows, that there is a common sense way of doing business, and that *if I could* give the testimony, which Mr. Burke insinuates *I can give*, Mr. Fox, the Managers, and the five Lawyers they employ, would insist upon Mr. Burke's coming to the point *at once*, they would not permit him to speak four days upon presumptions, and the *probabilities of presumptions*; but, as Mr. Burke has now committed himself, I hope the public will not *forget* the broad assertion that he has made. For the present I will inform them,

that I was examined upon this subject in Westminster-hall above four hours, with all the ability, ingenuity and industry of Mr. Fox, Mr. Burke, and Mr. Sheridan; and this is not the only instance they have given of skill, in putting questions, as the world well knows. I had been examined upon the same subject by a Committee of the House of Commons five years before. When I gave my evidence in Westminster-hall, no information was given to me of the point I was called to depose to; and in the course of my examination, Mr. Sheridan observed, that there was a contradiction between the testimony then given, and that which I gave formerly on the same subject. A noble Lord afforded me the opportunity of calling for that former evidence. It came; it was read; but the ability of Mr. Sheridan did not enable him to point out a difference, and armed with the Robe of Magistracy, he left his assertion to shift for itself. No question can be put to me that I will not answer most unreservedly; and, as to money transactions, I should have no objection if all that I am concerned in, were proclaimed at Charing-

Cross. I have never lent my name to give currency to a bond, and afterwards refused to discharge it.

Mr. Burke says, that their perseverance may be called obstinacy inspired by malice, and adds, “not one of us, however, has a
“ cause of malice. What knowledge have
“ we of Sir Elijah Impey with whom you
“ know we began; or Mr. Hastings, whom
“ we afterwards found in our way. Party
“ views cannot be our motive. Is it not
“ notorious, that if we thought it consistent
“ with our duty, we might at least have an
“ equal share of the Indian interest, which
“ now is, almost to a man, against us!”

One would really imagine, that Mr. Burke was writing to an old woman born in the last century, or to an infant in the nurse's arms; that he should gravely put such a question to a Gentleman of character, and information, and deep political knowledge, is, indeed, most wonderful. Does not Mr. Montague know, that those who have been his bosom friends through life, took up the cause of Mr. Hastings most warmly, and successfully, in the year 1776, when Lord
North

North wanted to remove him, *because he had been accused?* Does not Mr. Montague know, that the Marquis of Rockingham then defended him, *because the accusation was not proved?* Does not Mr. Montague know, that though Mr. Hastings refused to be confronted with Nundcomar, he offered to satisfy the Court of Directors of his integrity *in any manner they should prescribe?* Does not Mr. Montague know, that neither the Directors, nor Lord North, ever asked Mr. Hastings a question upon the subject? Does not Mr. Montague know, that the accusations were actually those, which, at a distance of fourteen years, Mr. Burke has revived, though three several times since they were made, Mr. Hastings has, by the unanimous voice of the legislature, been appointed the Governor-General of Bengal? Does not Mr. Montague know, that in 1781, when he sat as Member of the Judicature Committee, they examined very particularly into the circumstances of the execution of Nundcomar? Does not Mr. Montague know, that precisely at the same period Lord North brought in a Bill, by which Mr. Hastings

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was a *fourth* time appointed Governor-General of Bengal, and for ten years? Does not Mr. Montague know, that neither Mr. Burke nor any one man of his Committee, intreated Lord North to suspend the appointment because Mr. Hastings was concerned in the death of Nundcomar? He knows that at that time no such suspicions existed; nor do they now, though it was found *expedient* to say *that*, which the Commons have disavowed.

But, says Mr. Burke, *we found Mr. Hastings in our way*. He never spoke more truly in his life.

They did so, *but not in April 1781*. *They found him in their way* when they had turned out Lord North the next year, then, and not till then, did the plot thicken; nor was Mr. Hastings the *only* man *they found in their way*. *They found* Sir John Macpherson *in their way*; and they made a report which had for its object *his removal*, and the censure of Lord North for appointing him. They found Mr. Wheler *in their way*; for they made *another* report, in which they affirmed, that both he and Sir John were *implicated* in the criminality of Mr. Hastings. The resistance of
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the Proprietors, and the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, prevented their plans from taking effect. They resigned, and in a few months came back with additional power, by an unexpected junction, with an old enemy. Then Mr. Fox brought in his memorable Bill, and again *they found Mr. Hastings in their way*, for his friends joined most heartily in opposition to that measure, with a very great majority of the nation. I cannot possibly look into the heart of a man, and discover the motives of his actions; but, I believe, there is not in Great-Britain, one man of common sense, or who has read beyond the history of Tom Thumb, who will say with Mr. Burke, "that party views cannot be the motive of their prosecution of "Mr. Hastings."

Mr. Burke says, "is it not notorious that if we thought it consistent with our duty we might have at least an equal share of the Indian Interest, which now is almost to a man against us."

There is an insinuation here, which it is incumbent upon Mr. Montague to do away. I deny the truth of it in the most solemn,
and

and unequivocal manner. None of us have forgot the late important struggles, nor the active part which Mr. Burke took in them. During that period, or any other, was the least overture made directly or indirectly on the part of Mr. Hastings by any man living, to deprecate the resentment of Mr. Burke, or his party? I affirm there was not, and at the very moment, when their possession of power seemed (whether with or without cause I know not) to be inevitable, I spoke of them precisely in the manner that I had done when their elevation appeared to be more distant. If no reply is given, the insinuation will be treated by the world as it deserves.

I will take upon me to declare that no overtures were at any time made by Mr. Hastings or his friends, to deprecate the violence of his opponents, though an overture was made to them at a very critical period, namely, the night before Mr. Fox brought in his Bill. Mr. Sheridan who made it, would have met me the next day, had I not declined the meeting. How far he was impowered, or by whom impowered to treat, I know not, but
after

after having declined that meeting, which was intended as an opening to an accommodation, I did not expect to hear it gravely asserted at any time, as a matter of notoriety, that Mr. Burke and his friends "might, if they thought it consistent with their duty, have at least an equal share of the Indian Interest." Mr. Burke's meaning is too obvious to be missed, but it has no sort of foundation in fact.

In Mr. Burke's late speech, he gave us a long account of Munny Begum, whom he called "a Dancing Girl," "a common Prostitute," "a wicked Woman," and bestowed upon her a variety of opprobrious epithets, in so far, that nine tenths of the Ladies who heard him, must have departed with the most unfavourable opinion of this venerable matron. If the House were to give Mr. Burke entire credit for the veracity of every fact that he either affirms or denies, it would upon this occasion be in one of the most unfortunate dilemmas that any public body was ever involved in; for Mr. Burke *himself*, in the Eleventh Report of the Select Committee, gave the House the following *very different*

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account

account of Munny Begum, in the year 1783: " It will be proper to state to the
 " House the situation and circumstances of
 " the women principally concerned, who
 " were in the Seraglio of Jaffier Ally Cawn,
 " at his death. *The first of these* was called
 " Munny Begum, a person originally born
 " of poor and obscure parents, who delivered
 " her over to the conductress of a company
 " of dancing girls, in which profession, be-
 " ing called to exhibit at a festival, where
 " the late Nabob took a liking to her, and
 " after some co-habitation, she obtained such
 " influence over him, *that he took her for one*
 " *of his wives, (and she seems to have been the*
 " *favourite)* put her at the head of his Haram,
 " and having a son by her, *this son succeeded*
 " *to his authority and estate*; Munny Begum,
 " the mother, *being by his will, a devisee of*
 " *considerable sums of money, and other effects,*
 " on which he left a charge, which has since
 " been applied to the service of the East-
 " India Company."

All the latter part of this account we know to be strictly true; and the first part may be so also, although it will be impossible for Mr. Burke, or any other person in England,

land, to prove it, except by a piece of miserable evidence, to which no man of common understanding will pay attention, a letter written by an obscure, discarded servant of the Begum's, to General Clavering, which the General entered upon the Records with a mass of other papers, as information, not as proof. Munny Begum, by Mr. Burke's own account, was the wife, and the favourite wife of Jaffier, the superior of his Seraglio; and Lord Clive took a legacy of five lacks upon the strength of her testimony, which forms a fund for the half-pay of our army. If she ever was a dancing girl, it must have been nearly fifty years ago; for the last twenty-seven years she has been treated as the first woman in Bengal. How she acquired her power and influence originally, long antecedent as it was to our own influence in Bengal, is not a matter of the least consequence; but I should be glad to know, if the House is to give entire credit to Mr. Burke for the veracity of every fact he affirms or denies, how they are to act, *when he differs so materially from himself*. In the Eleventh Report, and in the Articles presented to the Lords, this Lady is called *the widow of Meer*

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Jaffier.

Jaffier. In his speech, which *we ought* most religiously to believe, she is styled “ a wicked woman, and a common prostitute.”

I shall proceed in further elucidation of the danger, as well as of the absurdity, of Mr. Burke’s doctrine.

He has affirmed, that to let the lands of Bengal in farm, was a most wicked, corrupt, and oppressive system, invented by Mr. Hastings, unauthorized by the Directors, and a scandalous violation of the rights of the Nobility, and country Gentlemen of Bengal.

Mr. Burke has represented himself as a laborious, plodding, and inquisitive man, who has been intent upon the discovery of Indian grievances for eight years. What reliance ought the House, or the public, to whom he has appealed, to place upon his accuracy or fidelity, when it is a notorious fact, that the plan for farming the lands was adopted in various instances three years before Mr. Hastings adopted it; and is thus mentioned by Governor Verelst and Mr. Becher, in a letter to the Select Committee in Bengal, dated from Moorshedabad, the 30th of June, 1769.

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“ The plan we wish to see generally fol-
 “ lowed is, that of letting the lands to farm,
 “ for a term of years, as we are persuaded
 “ that mode tends most to the welfare of the
 “ inhabitants, the improvement of the
 “ country, and of course the benefit of our
 “ employers. We are happy to find the
 “ Honourable Court of Directors seem to
 “ have adopted the same sentiments; and
 “ we flatter ourselves *the beginning that is*
 “ *now making, in letting out to farm the dis-*
 “ *tricts of Raje Shaby and Nuddea, will in*
 “ *time be followed throughout the Province of*
 “ *Bengal.*”

Here is another strong instance brought,
 in order to prove that the House cannot, and
 ought not, to give entire credit to Mr.
 Burke.

In his last speech, he read a testimonial
 which Lord Cornwallis and his Council had
 transmitted to the Court of Directors from
 the Rajah of Dinagepore, a boy whom he
 represented to be eleven or twelve years of
 age; Mr. Burke might well say, indeed, that
 such a testimonial, from such a child, was
 only to be mentioned with ridicule, or with
 contempt; and in such a contemptible light
 he

he did represent it. This testimonial the House has not seen; but if they were to give entire credit to Mr. Burke, they might suppose, *that no other signature appeared to the Testimonial.* The fact, however is, *that it is signed by all the public Officers of the Rajah,* who manage the business of the Zemindary for him; and the next name to the Rajah's *is that of the Naib Zemindar, or Public Minister.* I have been asked seriously, of what validity the Testimonial of such a child could be; so completely were Mr. Burke's auditors convinced, by his general argument, that no other signature was affixed to it, but that of the infant, as he called him!

Mr. Burke alluded generally to the different testimonials that had been sent from Bengal in favour of Mr. Hastings, and avowed his intention of producing them in evidence. He talked of thumb screws, tortures, &c. and he affirmed that, Lord Cornwallis excepted, every office in Bengal was filled with the creatures of Mr. Hastings.—What a degradation would this language bring upon the House, if Mr. Burke's doctrine was admitted? Can they confide in his veracity after such a declaration has been made?

made? Mr. Dundas can contradict it. The whole Court of Directors can prove that the assertion is unfounded. Throughout the extensive dominion of Bengal and its dependencies, every Zemindar, every man of rank, and every man of learning, has borne ample and willing testimony to the services of Mr. Hastings. These are publicly transmitted to the East-India Company by Earl Cornwallis, and his Council. Neither art nor sophistry can raise a doubt as to their authenticity, or can weaken their effect; and Mr. Burke himself knows, from the documents which he has perused, that no influence of any kind was, or could be employed, to procure them.

The House rejected Mr. Burke's doctrine at once, but I can impute the publication of his Letter to one motive only, his being desirous to obtain the public opinion of his conduct; and upon the same principle, I suppose, he published heretofore his several Speeches in Parliament. If Mr. Burke has acted right in printing his Letter, I cannot be censured for printing a few remarks upon it, and adding them to the second edition of my Letter to Mr. Fox. The favourable
reception

reception of that Letter induces me to make the present edition as complete as possible, by adding, that the advices received in the last week from Bengal, prove that precisely the same system of Government that Mr. Hastings established still continues, and is in fact the permanent system. The House has voted articles which condemn that system in all its parts, but I am confident it has done this, not from design, but accident. I have already said, that I supposed the articles were voted from a confidence in the Committee who drew them up, and were to conduct the impeachment; the fact however is, that Bengal actually is in a most flourishing state, and its natives the happiest and best protected subjects in India, under that system which for the four last years one set of men in this country, has so strongly reprobated.

JOHN SCOTT.

Holles-street,
May 16, 1789.